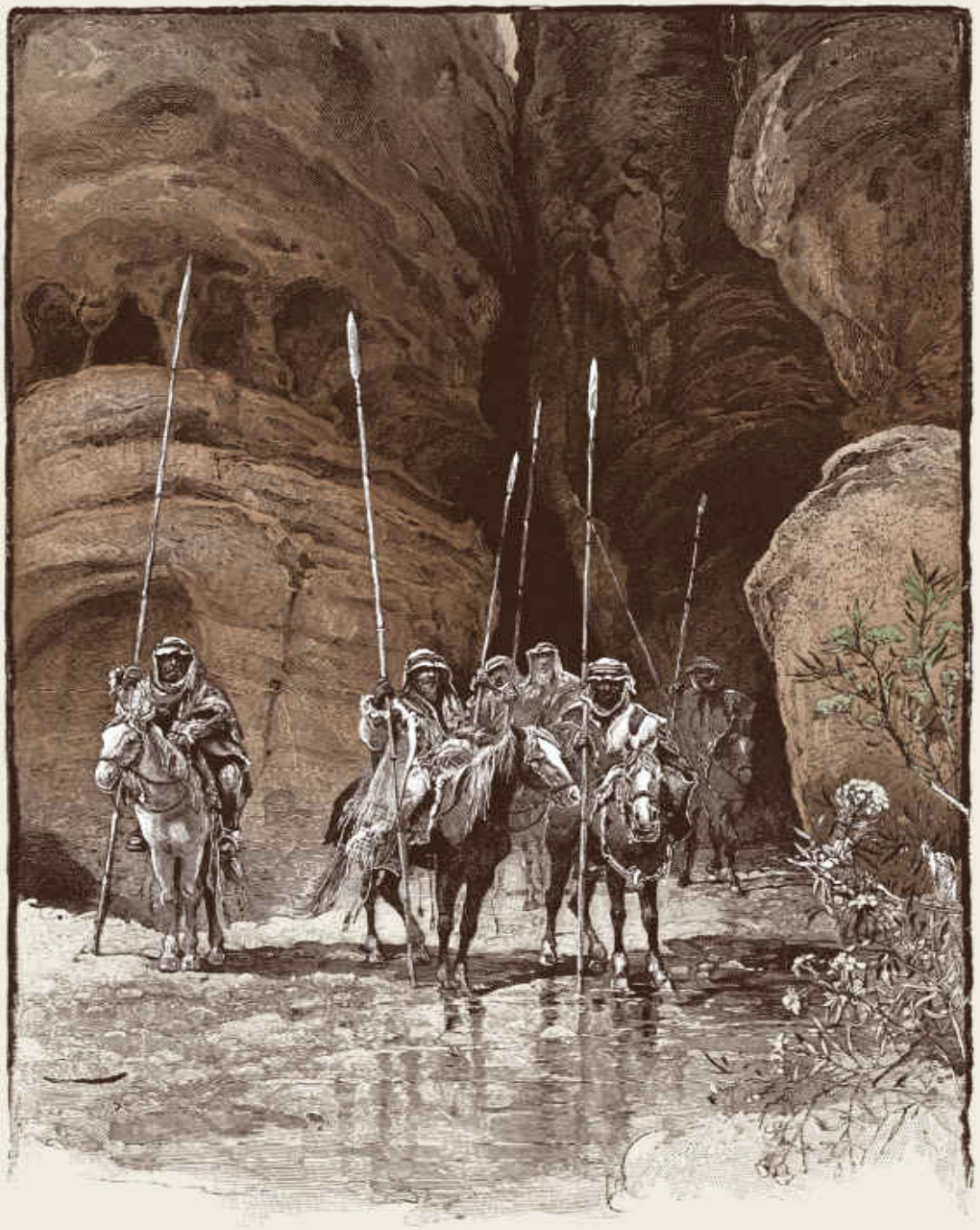

THE WARRIOR PROPHET

MUHAMMAD ﷺ & WAR

JOEL HAYWARD

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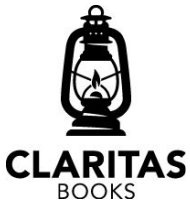

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The Warrior Prophet: Muhammad and War By Joel Hayward A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library ISBN: 978-1-80011-004-5

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For Hasna,

my love, my life

إلى حسنا،
حبي وحياتي

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Chronology **Year** 570 — Muḥammad was born in Mecca 610 — Muḥammad received his first divine revelation 613 — Muḥammad began his public ministry 622 — (September) The *Hijra*: Muḥammad emigrated to Medina 623 — (March) Raiding commencing 624 — (January) The Nakhla raid caused controversy 624 — (March 15) Battle of Badr 624 — (April) Islamic siege of the Banū Qaynuqāʻ

625 — (March 23) Battle of Uḥud 625 — (August) Islamic siege of the Banū al-Naḍīr 627 — (April) Battle of the Trench 627 — (May) Islamic siege of the Banū Qurayẓa 628 — (March) Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya 628 — (May) Conquest of Khaybar 629 — (September) Battle of Mu’ta 630 — (January) Conquest of Mecca 630 — (January-February) Battle of Ḥunayn 630 — (January-February) Battle of Ṭā’if 630 — (October-December) The Tabūk Campaign 632 — Muḥammad died in Medina

Glossary **Aḥābīsh**: A body of tribesmen allied to Mecca who came from a variety of local tribes and clans and apparently served Mecca as a type of mercenary defense force.

Aḥādīth: (*ḥadīth*, singular). “Reports” or “traditions”; the recorded sayings and practices later attributed with varying degrees of certainty to Muḥammad.

Al-‘Āliya : Upper Medina, the southern end of the Medina oasis, which generally has better soil for cultivation than Sāfila, Lower Medina, in the north.

Al-Wāqidī: Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar al-Wāqidī (747-823 CE), author *of Kitāb al-Maghāzī,* an early history of Muḥammad’s campaigns. He certainly drew upon but did not plagiarize Ibn Isḥāq, whose work his own book most resembles in depth and breadth. As Rodinson noted a generation ago: “a comparative examination of the texts shows that both authors, in reality, produced parallel works from traditional material which had already taken shape, by adding the results of their own investigations.”[1] Al-Wāqidī has been criticized by some Islamic scholars for carelessness (or worse) with his chains of authority, or for combining various reports to create what he believed was the most comprehensible synthesis, whilst others have considered him indispensable for the reconstruction of the Prophet’s life and especially of his raids and battles.

Allah: God in Arabic; the divine intelligence worshipped by Muslims.

Anṣār: Medinan citizens who took into their homes Muḥammad’s followers (the *Muhājirūn*) when they migrated from Mecca in 622. *Anṣār* also denotes the increasing number of Medinese who subsequently became Muslims during the first seven or eight years after the *Hijra*.

Āṭām: (*uṭum*, singular). These were small but fairly strong fortresses in each of Medina’s many villages and towns, each belonging to a tribe or subtribe. They were dual-use buildings, serving as regular houses or warehouses during periods of peace.

Awdīya: Wādīs, the ephemeral riverbeds that can turn into streams or even torrents during rainfall.

Bay‘a: A formal and very solemn pledge of allegiance and obedience, made with a spoken vow and a clasp of hands, that came with responsibilities and obligations for both parties.

CE: Common Era; corresponds herein to the Christian dating system commonly called the Gregorian

calendar, but without any implication that the Christian timeline, including the birth of Christ, has more importance than the histories of other civilizations. The Islamic community developed a dating system starting with the *Hijra*, but this seems to have emerged sometime after the events of this book, so it would seem a bit clumsy and anachronistic to present both dating systems. The use of CE is not, of course, intended to represent preference for it over the Islamic calendar.

Da‘wah: Islamic effort made, based around a reason-based call or invitation, to encourage a non-Muslim to become a Muslim.

Dunyā: The present life — the world with all its pleasures and materialism — as opposed to the Ākhira, the afterlife.

Fay’: In classical Islamic jurisprudence, *fay’* is usually understood to mean the collective wealth of Muslims derived from the taxation of conquered peoples. For the purposes of this book and its focus on Muḥammad’s warfare, one can say that, in its simplest form, *fay’* refers to property (especially land and other unmovable property and its ongoing benefit) that became the Prophet’s sole possession through diplomacy or negotiation rather than through combat.

Fiqh: Islamic jurisprudence.

Ghaṭafān: A large and powerful seminomadic tribe that lived to the northeast of Medina.

Ḥadīth: (*aḥādīth*, plural). A written record of an oral transmission of a saying or practice later attributed with varying degrees of certainty to Muḥammad.

Ḥaram: Literally something set aside; that is, a sacred space for devotion and ritual which was supposed to be free of sin and violence. Mecca already had a *ḥaram*, and Muḥammad established one in Medina, centered on his mosque, after the *Hijra*.[2] *Ḥarām* (note the longer second syllable) also has a common meaning of an action that is prohibited. For example, in Islam it is considered *ḥarām* to drink alcohol.

Ḥarra: A solidified volcanic field. Around three sides of Medina were large volcanic fields formed by basalt lava flows. Cavalry could not advance over these *ḥarrāt*, which gave Medina a tremendous southern barrier.

Ḥijāz: The region of western Arabia that lies next to the Red Sea with al-Shām to its north, Yemen to its south and the Najd (Arabia’s “interior”) to its east.

Hijra: The one-way journey that Muḥammad and his followers made from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE.

Howdah: A camel-borne curtained carriage, usually for a woman but also for any elderly person.

Ḥurūb al-Fijār *:* The “Sinful Wars” (named because fighting even occurred during supposedly sacred months) were a series of battles primarily between the Kināna and Hawāzin tribes that lasted for four years, just before the advent of Islam, and even dragged in the tribes of Ṭā’if and Mecca.

Ḥuṣūn: (*ḥiṣn*, singular). In the eastern part of al-‘Āliya district of Medina were four large and very strong stone defensive fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*), which belonged to Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayẓa and to two groups of the Aws Allāh, a subdivision of the Banū Aws. Khaybar also had highly fortified *ḥuṣūn*.

Hypocrites: *Munāfiḳūn* in Arabic; a Qur’ānic term for professed believers suspected or accused of insincere faith.

Ibn Hishām: Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mālik ibn Hishām ibn Ayyub al-Himyari (died 833), author of *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, the most widely consulted early biography of Muḥammad. It is actually a recension of an earlier, now-lost work by Ibn Isḥāq (died c. 767), which had been written around fifty or sixty years earlier. Given the extent of changes made to Ibn Isḥāq’s work, which Ibn Hishām acknowledges that he made (he both added and removed information), the book cited throughout this study will be attributed to Ibn Hishām with an understanding that in most places it contains significant elements of Ibn Isḥāq’s original.

Jāhiliyya : A common understanding within Islam, based on a particular reading of certain verses in the Qur’ān, is that the period within Arabia before the advent of Islam was sharply different to the Islamic period; meaning that in virtually all spheres of life people before Islam acted in ignorance (*jāhiliyya*) of acceptable social norms, a suitable moral code, and God’s true requirements for humanity. This author’s decades of studying the pre-Islamic and foundational Islamic periods (the latter referring to the final two decades of the Prophet’s lifetime) show him that there was, in fact, surprisingly little discontinuity in most social and cultural areas, except for religion, where Muḥammad’s emphatic emphasis on monotheism, an imminent Day of Judgment, and the need for believers to live a pious life in preparation for that fearsome day constituted a dramatic discontinuity. Aside from that, which required the abandonment or modification of many “*jahilī*” religious beliefs and customs, Muḥammad sought relatively few changes, and few occurred. The concepts and practices of war and combat — and the esteemed values of fortitude, courage, cunning, chivalry, élan, honor and generosity that underpinned the particular Arabian style of war and combat — hardly changed at all. Muḥammad’s most notable philosophical changes in the way that war should be seen were: first, the physical and mental struggle and hardship (Jihād) inherent in war should now be for God’s cause, as articulated by His Prophet; second, anyone slain would, as a martyr, earn a place in an eternal Paradise; and third, the booty that men obsessively craved was to be understood and pursued as a reward from God, rather than merely as the product of chance, destiny or fate.

Ka‘ba: The sacred cube-shaped shrine in Mecca’s center.

Khums: The one-fifth of the spoils of war that was Muḥammad’s to use and distribute according to a formula that he developed and implemented. He routinely divided that fifth into five equal parts, these going to: himself for his own discretionary use (meaning that he took for himself a fifth of the fifth of the overall amount); his family and relatives; orphans; the poor, and travellers (the latter should be understood to include *Muhājirūn* relocating to Medina, pilgrims, and warriors on campaigns and raids).[3]

Mêlée : A chaotic clash of warriors in hand-to-hand battle with little ability for leaders to provide governance or control.

Muhājirūn : Meccan Muslims who emigrated to Abyssinia and also (and especially) to Medina. It also came to mean any new Muslims from other towns or from the Bedouin tribes throughout the Ḥijāz who moved to Medina.

Polity: Even by the time of his death, the political structure and organization of Muḥammad’s community was not what political scientists would today define as a “state,” a legal territorially specific entity composed of both a stable population and a government which possesses sovereignty recognized by other entities around it. At most it might be called a proto-state. The word “polity” in this book avoids the anachronistic use and implications of the word state, as least as it is understood in the post-Westphalian world.

Quraysh: The most powerful tribe in Mecca; Muḥammad’s most implacable foe from 610 to 630 CE, even though he was himself born into the Quraysh.

Qur’ān: Islam’s holy scriptures; believed by Muslims to be the final written form of revelations from Allah to Muḥammad, which he had spoken aloud to his followers.

Ṣadaqa: Essentially this means charity; something given. In the earliest extant Arabic biographical sources for Muḥammad’s life, just as in the Qur’ān, the words for voluntary charity (ṣ*adaqa*), for mandatory charity (*zakat*) and tribute from monotheists (*jizya*) were not always clearly differentiated, as they later became in *Fiqh*, and they were occasionally used interchangeably or as synonyms (especially *ṣadaqa* and *zakat*). In the earliest sources, *ṣadaqa* is frequently used to define the tribute demanded of (and annually collected from) a tribe or people who either entered Islam or made their *bay‘a* to Muḥammad. After the development of *Fiqh* in later centuries, ṣ*adaqa* would never again have that meaning.[4]

Sāfila: Lower Medina, the northern end of the Medina oasis, which generally has poorer soil for cultivation than al-‘Āliya, Upper Medina, in the south.

Ṣāfiya: (*ṣafāyā*, plural). The *ṣāfiya* was the part of the spoils of war which the leader would choose for himself prior to the distribution of the booty into the *Khums* and the warriors' shares. It could be a sword, chain mail shirt, horse, or even a male or female captive.

Salab: The armor, weapons, clothing and personal effects stripped off the slain and taken as spoils. The default rule was that a warrior would be entitled to the *salab* of anyone he killed in battle or on a raid. Muḥammad modified this practice during chaotic *mêlées* when it was impossible to know who had actually killed whom, or when two or more warriors claimed to have killed the same person. Muḥammad either adjudicated those cases himself, or had the *salab* included in the booty to be apportioned centrally.

Shām: Al-Shām was and is the common Arabic way of referring to the approximate region of the Levant, although the two terms are not geographically identical. Shām included the lands now known as Lebanon, Syria, Israel, Palestine and Jordan, although where it precisely started and ended in any direction (except for the obvious western edge being the Mediterranean coast) is impossible to specify. Wādī al-Qurā and Dūmat al-Jandal were often described by people of the Ḥijāz as being "gateways" into Shām.[5] In the seventh century, most people in Shām were Christians, with Jews, Manichaeans and Zoroastrians also having large and distinct communities.

Shūrā: Consultation; can denote either a consultative body or the process of seeking consultation.

Sīrah: The Islamic biographies of Muḥammad that focus on describing and explaining the key events of his life rather than on expounding Islamic theology (although the lines sometimes blur).

Sūrah: The Qur'ān has 114 chapters, each of which is called a *sūrah*.

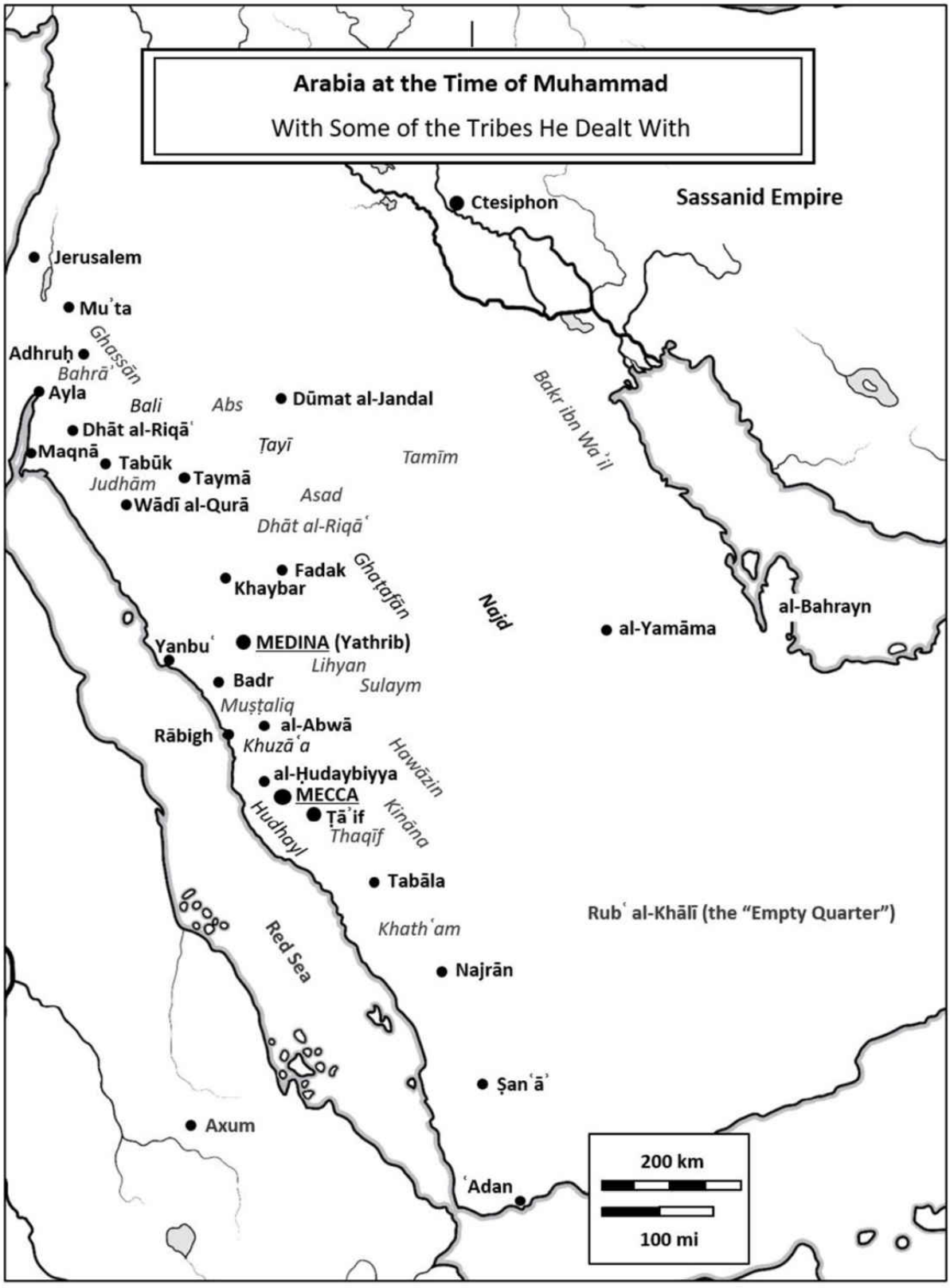

Figure 1. Arabia at the Time of Muḥammad

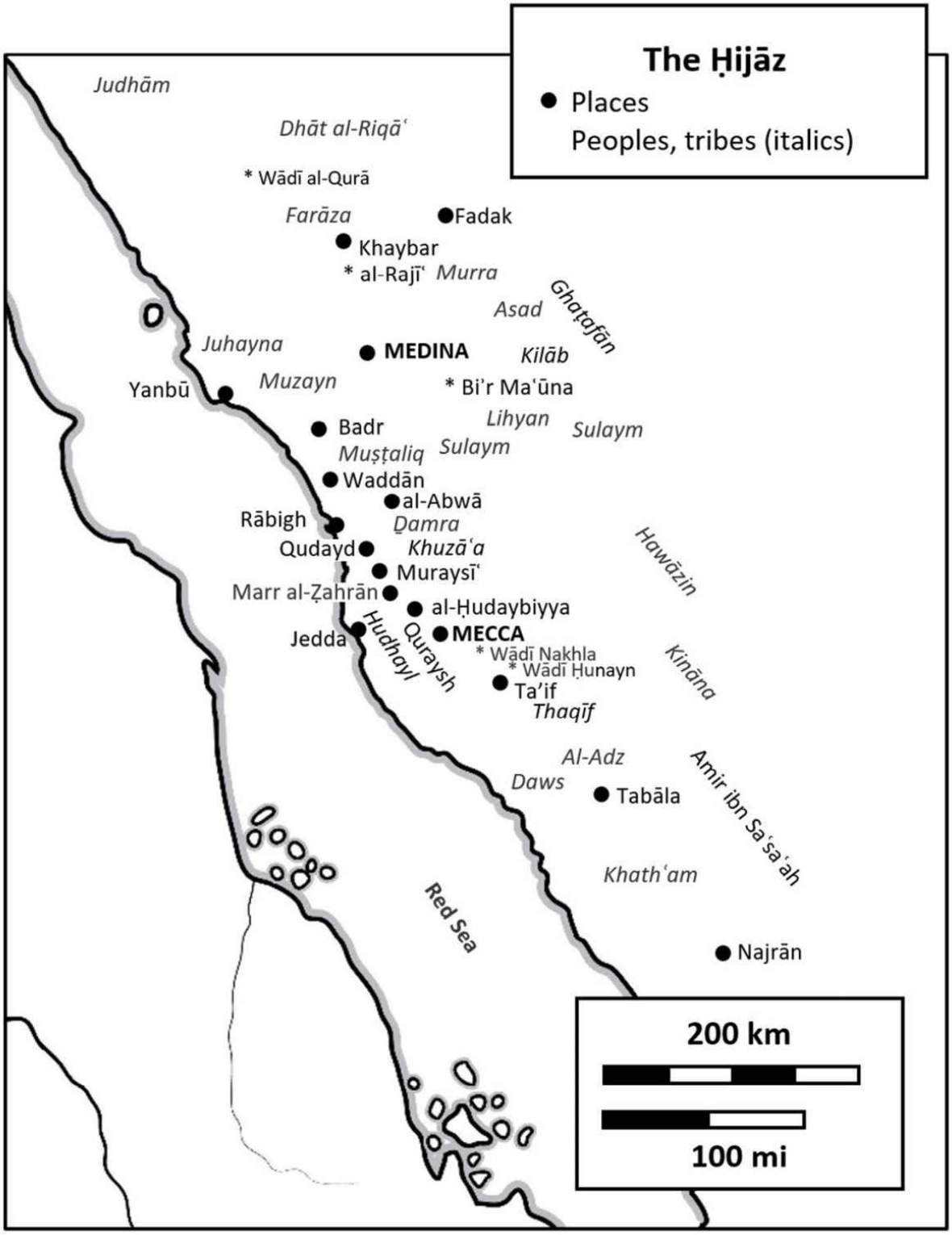

Figure 2. The Ḥijāz

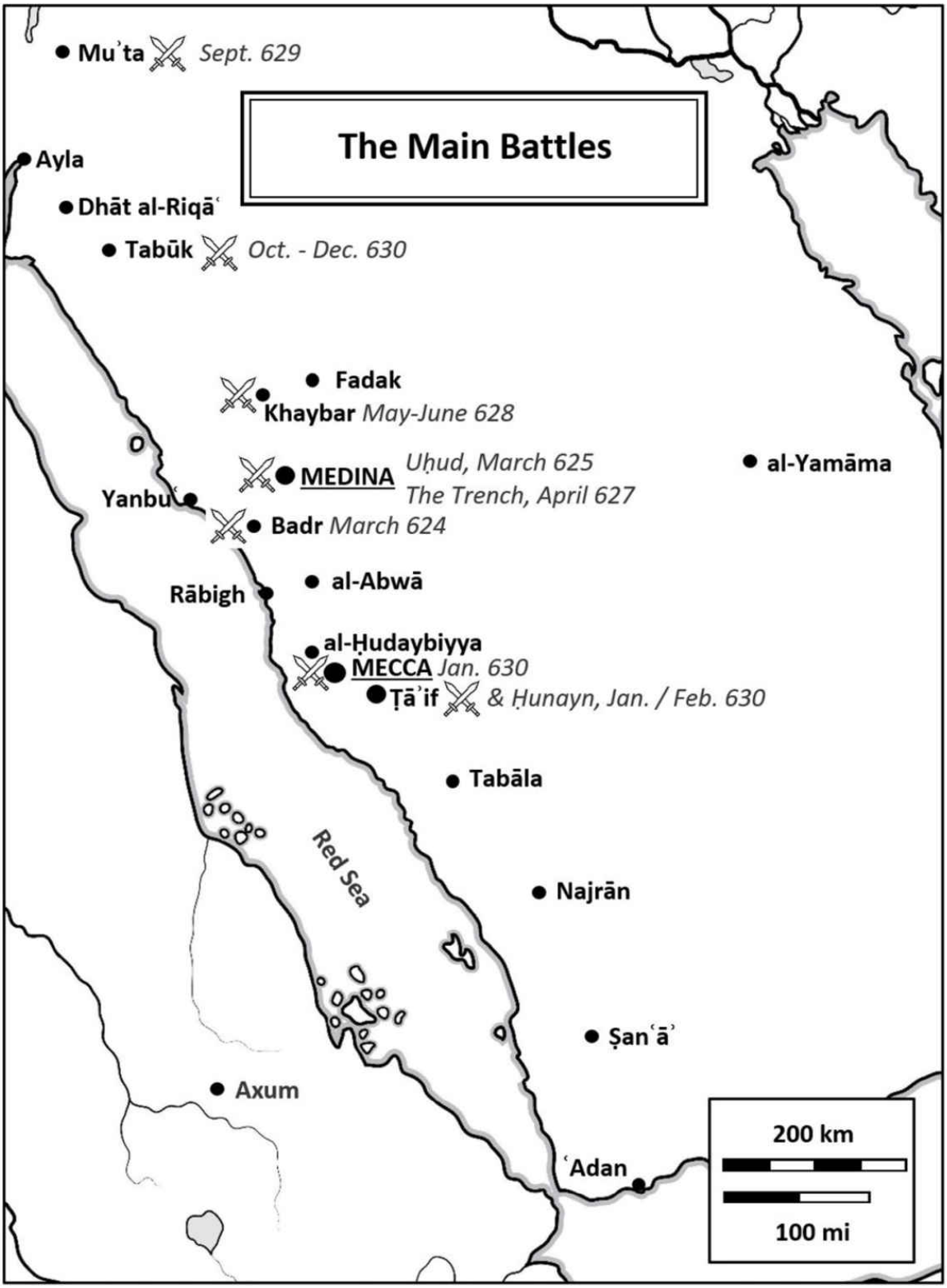

Figure 3. The Main Battles

Introduction Muḥammad is undoubtedly one of humanity’s most significant figures, perhaps the only person with a global influence to rival that of Jesus, whose religious teachings are similar although their life experiences were dramatically different. Muḥammad fought militarily to fulfil the mission that he believed God had given him, and in that sense, as a warrior-prophet, his prophethood resembles that of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, David, and other “Old Testament” prophets more than it resembles that of Jesus, whose ministry involved no warfare. Muḥammad also exercised considerable societal authority and power, creating and leading a polity that, by the time of his death, controlled the entire Ḥijāz in western Arabia and certain adjoining areas. In that nameless polity, which took the form of a super-tribe rather than what we would today call a state, religious confession

was a unifying factor.

Historian and strategic theorist Martin van Creveld once described Napoleon Bonaparte as “the most competent human being who ever lived”.[6] He identified Napoleon as possessing a rare combination of will, intellect, and mental and physical energy, and attributed to him almost unparalleled success as a social, political and military leader. Napoleon was not, however, a religious man, let alone a religious innovator or leader, and his undeniable brilliance never found expression in new or influential ideas on morality, spirituality or theology. In that sense, Napoleon somehow seems less complete or rounded than Muḥammad. The Islamic Prophet was an equally uncommon man with a combination of gifts and a record of success in many spheres found in very few leaders. Yet he also gave the world a new set of ideas on how humans should relate to God and interact with each other that has survived for 1,400 years and is followed by a quarter of all people.

My task in this book is not to say how “competent” Muḥammad was, to use van Creveld’s phrase, or to analyze his contribution to history. It is not even to say what type of religious leader he was. Far more modestly, my task is only to investigate what the early Arabic sources reveal about his capacity and aptitude for using warfare for societal and religious purposes and to make a determination whether and to what degree he acted deliberately in ways that produced positive results, especially those he actually sought, during his decade of armed conflict.

I did not say “for societal, religious and *political* purposes,” primarily because that would imply that he operated within a political framework in which state governments sought to impose their wills upon their peoples and upon other states. In the nineteenth century, Carl von Clausewitz famously wrote that “war is not just a political act, but a true political instrument, a continuation of political discourse, carried out by other means” (“*der Krieg nicht bloß ein politischer Akt, sondern ein wahres politisches Instrument ist, eine Fortsetzung des politischen Verkehrs, ein Durchführen desselben mit anderen Mitteln*”).[7] It may have been so in the Napoleonic era, Clausewitz’s main frame of reference, which involved the

governments of modern states using systematically organised and industrially provisioned standing armies to fight each other, but this hardly describes the warfare that Muḥammad utilized in order to create, protect, expand and shape the earliest Islamic community. Muḥammad certainly did things that one might call “political,” and he was very good at them, but his polity was not a state, at least in his lifetime, and to say that it was seems to be overstated and anachronistic. It had state-like features, but also many features inconsistent with states.

Throughout this book, I prefer to use the simpler word “polity” because it avoids the anachronistic connotations of the word “state,” as least as it is understood in the post-Westphalian world. A polity did exist, and soon after Muḥammad’s death it developed into a state-like entity, and eventually into a state and then a type of empire, but during his own lifetime it only had the most rudimentary political organization. It included a group of peoples bound to the Prophet by either treaty or pledge of allegiance (*bay‘a*), but had no name and only the most basic collective identity. The transition from the tribe to religious confession as the primary self-identifier was still at an early stage. There were the beginnings of institutionalized social relations and the capacity to mobilize some resources (especially manpower, but not yet finances in any meaningful and systematized sense). And Muḥammad’s polity, which in many ways resembled a super-tribe (or even supra-tribe), did not have a modern state-like political organization with anything resembling a “government” that would oversee a range of function-specific bureaucratic and administrative institutions. Most importantly for our purposes, Muḥammad’s polity never actually had an army, at least what we today call an army: a structured and hierarchically organized force of full-time professionals who are recruited, trained, equipped, organized, deployed and paid by a government to impose the government’s will upon others. These did exist in late antiquity; in the Byzantine and Sassanid Empires, for example. Yet Muḥammad’s fighting force was always a simple type of militia at most: a grouping of non-specialists (who were orchardists, merchants, craftspeople, shepherds and so on for most of the year when not out on raids or campaigns) brought together to fight as best they could, using weapons that they provided themselves, having not undergone bespoke and systemised training. Their only real recompense was the Prophet’s gratitude, enhanced honour, and whatever booty they could seize

or were awarded. Not wanting to refer to it in this book as an army is not to belittle Muḥammad's fighting force. It served as a primary cause of the great successes that he had after he migrated to Medina in 622 CE.

The earliest extant Arabic sources clearly show that Muḥammad managed to achieve truly remarkable outcomes. After a decade of struggle within a hostile population of his fellow townsfolk in Mecca, he managed to transform Arabia within ten years of arriving in Medina as an exile, *and an outsider*, in 622 CE. He made the most of his opportunity, choosing not to serve merely as a mediator in the squabbles between Medina's tribes, but to advance a far grander vision for himself and also, and *especially*, for the peoples around him. His vision did not grow from a desire to acquire and use power out of personal ambition, but, rather, to create a movement of religious reform that emphasized strict monotheism and moral behavior in conformity with what God revealed to and through him. Yet, to spread this movement, and nurture its growth beyond infancy so that it would survive after his own death, he would need to acquire societal power, and plenty of it, a reality that he grasped very early on.

Muḥammad's ability to see and exploit opportunities, and his profound and intuitive understanding of human nature, allowed him to consolidate and expand power at an unimagined pace. Thus, within around five years of arriving in Medina, he had become its strongest leader and its largest landowner. Far more importantly, by the time of his death in 632 CE he had effectively gained the submission of much of Arabia and created the framework of *Sunnah*, meaning the example of how he had done things, that his successors ostensibly used as their model when they spread out of Arabia onto the world stage.

Assessing the military activities and effectiveness of any historical figure is always problematical for three main reasons. First, it is likely that the records of his or her actions were written by either acolytes or enemies, and are therefore imbued with significant bias and distortion. Second, there is some truth in the adage that "the victors write the history," or at least that they possess such power for a time after the events that they are able to disseminate and impose the dominant (and often only) narrative. The historian's desire to rely on documents to form interpretations means that the victor's narrative becomes the primary (and in the case of the birth of Islam, essentially the only) basis of analysis, however much the historian

might want to understand, and be even-handed regarding, the intentions and actions of both sides. Third, when the sources focus almost exclusively on the leader (certainly true in the case of Islam's genesis), it is hard to establish whether failures or successes can reasonably be attributed to the leader's qualities, intentions and actions, or whether myriad other unmentioned or inadequately mentioned factors and the actions of marginally discussed people played significant roles in the way that events unfolded.

Making sense of the attributes of military leaders and the reasons why their actions failed or succeeded is especially difficult because of the unrivalled loyalties, passions and hatreds that emerge during and after wars. The only historical figures more difficult to analyze than military leaders are religious saints and prophets.

Accounts of the lives of saints and prophets and the events in which they partake are almost exclusively written by acolytes who are co-religionists, and their accounts tend to be highly subjective and sacralizing, with supernatural explanations given for outcomes that might be explained very differently by observers from outside the faith traditions. And readers who are also religious adherents have expectations that their prophets, saints and other religious figures *must* be analyzed deferentially and uncritically, because analyzing them and their actions by the same methods and to the same standards with which we would explain the lives of other people would seem to diminish them and the role of God's hand in their lives. In that regard, if the readers' expectations are not fully met, sensitivities can cause a negative response to what is written; a bias that prevents a fair and open-minded reading of a writer's arguments and the evidence upon which it is based.

These epistemological challenges frame the enormity of the task of trying to say something objective, meaningful and accurate about the ways in which the Islamic Prophet Muḥammad understood the use of armed force for what we would today call "political" purposes, but which for him were religious purposes. He was both a military leader involved in wars which created new power structures *and* a prophet who ushered in dramatically original ways of understanding monotheistic religion and its relationship with power.

Within the Islamic world, the events of early seventh-century Arabia and

Muḥammad’s life and times are seldom analyzed by historians. They are mainly — indeed, almost exclusively — analyzed and communicated by theologians (both lay and professional) and jurists. Rather than provide detached, dispassionate and reasoned analyses of all possible explanations, they believe their responsibility is to show clearly how Allah had His Prophet create moral and legal frameworks for humans to live ethical lives and a theological framework for them to understand how Allah wants humans to interact with Him. Both frameworks, they believe, serve as preparation for a final judgment, at which time people will be rewarded or penalized for their compliance. The nature of the theologians’ and jurists’ intellectual activity is perfectly understandable, and no criticism is attached to the activities of Islamic preachers, theologians and legal experts, or to the institutions in which they study — some of them as old, august and influential as Cambridge and Oxford Universities — which clearly have a mission of promoting what they understand to be the truth.

Historians, at least those trained in the methodology for understanding the past that has steadily emerged in the West since the beginning of the Early Modern period, see the past and the ways in which it can be researched and understood somewhat differently to theologians and jurists. Although there are philosophical and methodological differences between historians, and major schools of historical thought have approached the past in very different ways, there is a common understanding that human events are best explained by natural causes that are revealed by sources of many kinds left by both the humans themselves and the physical environments which they inhabited and shaped. Even historians who hold to a religious worldview generally understand that their strongest likelihood of saying something accurate, plausible and meaningful about past events is achieved by analyzing the sources in a detached and dispassionate fashion whilst remaining aware of the possible influence of their own assumptions, values and biases.

I am both a committed Muslim *and* a historian, which means three things: first, I believe Muḥammad was the Prophet of the God in whom I believe; second, I accept the Qur’ān as my book of divine guidance; and third, I believe my best likelihood of adequately and meaningfully explaining the events of Muḥammad’s life is by employing the broadly agreed methodology of the discipline of history. By that, I mean critiquing and

searching for meaning in the earliest extant sources for Muḥammad's life in a detached and dispassionate manner while remaining aware of the ways in which my religious beliefs have influenced my assumptions, values and biases.

This requires me to remain open-minded when selecting, reading and interpreting the sources and to reflect with a sincere desire for objectivity on some key questions: Who wrote those sources? Why did they write them? For whom did they write them? Were they participants or observers? If neither, what likelihood is there that they consulted reliable and accurate sources and treated them with a detached and critical mindset? What were their own assumptions, values and biases? What were the differences between the cultures, societies, and *mentalités* of the people being described and those of the later describers? Was oral transmission a basis for any of that information? If so, what was the duration of that period of transmission, and what methods can we use today to verify the existence, nature and reliability of the supposed oral transmission process? Why do the sources say what they say? What might they have excluded, and why might they have done so? Have they been redacted since their first production? Although it is challenging for a religious man to write about historical issues within his own religious tradition, I have sincerely tried to keep these questions at the forefront of my mind when researching and writing this book, and especially when analyzing *aḥādīth* and works of *Sīrah*.

I am a historian, not a religious apologist. When I read the earliest surviving works of *Sīrah*, trying to learn about the historical Muḥammad whom I admire and call the Holy Prophet, I do not see those works as divinely inspired records, in the way that a Christian sees the Gospels, the Book of Acts, or the Letters of Paul. Both the *aḥādīth* and the works of *Sīrah* are historical artifacts — the product of human, not divine, activity and intelligence — that might or might not always capture accurately the causes, course and consequences of the myriad events they describe. However detailed and thorough they are, they are far from being unimpeachable, let alone inerrant. They need reflective and judicious selection and handling, and robust interrogation, when one uses them.

In any event, I am not writing religious history, and my book is not focused on Muḥammad's religious teachings. I am interested in war and

especially in strategy; in the set of ideas that frames the way in which leaders use military and other elements of power to achieve societal goals. The Prophet's deep and endlessly interesting religious ideas and teachings are only discussed in this book when they intersect, in both causational or correlational ways, with the strategic events and issues that I want to describe and explain. The first twelve years of Muḥammad's prophethood (c. 610-622 CE), when he struggled in Mecca to persuade many of his fellow townsfolk of the verity of his message, and possessed no social or religious authority whatsoever beyond his small community of followers, is thus outside the scope of this book.

Approaching the historical Muḥammad and trying to make sense of his life is perhaps easier for a Muslim historian than it must be for a Christian historian to do this with Jesus. Islam does not say that Muḥammad always knew the mind of God, let alone shared it in the way that Christians say that the historical Jesus, God the Father and the Holy Spirit shared the same divine mind. Muslims understand that Muḥammad received revelations, but otherwise lived and led using his own intellect, intuition, emotions and abilities. Islam does not attribute to Muḥammad any divinity and very few schools of Islamic thought (excluding Shī'īsm) attribute to him absolute inerrancy; the belief that he made no mistakes. Almost all Islamic schools teach that Muḥammad was granted unusual intelligence, foresight and insight, and that he strove to be morally superior to the people he led, a goal he achieved, yet they do not make him super-human in any way. They teach, in fact, that while he lived a sinless and virtuous life that Muslims can and should emulate — the basis of what is known as *Sunnah* — Muḥammad wrestled with the same sorts of challenges which other humans face. He also possessed a full range of human emotions and was not spared moments of melancholy, discontent, anxiety, fear, annoyance or anger. That is not to say that Islam teaches that Muḥammad was an "ordinary" man. How can a man be ordinary when he says that God tasks him (alone, in that time and place) with a mission and gives him direction or guidance at most key moments?

This is where historians, even Muslim historians, have a challenge. They cannot access the thoughts of the Prophet (who obviously did not write or dictate a memoir) and they have no independent means of verifying and understanding what he believed that God was saying to him. Having the

Holy Qur'ān provides little assistance in that particular regard. Even for the Muslim historian who believes that the Qur'ān is God's direct communication to, and through, Muḥammad, there is uncertainty about when particular verses were revealed and what events prompted them or are being discussed. The effort to determine the dating, sequence and context of Qur'ānic revelations — a system of intellectual activity that generates what are called the *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* (circumstances of the revelations) — is widely undertaken by Islamic intellectuals and others, but their interesting and undoubtedly helpful results are ultimately speculative, unverifiable and not unanimously accepted by other scholars.

The Qur'ān itself does not narrate the episodes in Muḥammad's life in the way that, for instance, the Bible chronicles the life of Moses or Jesus. It certainly refers to those episodes, but only to pass comment on them or to explain their consequence, rather than to detail what actually happened. Qur'ānic exegesis is a major branch of what are known as the Islamic sciences, and highly developed works of systematic theological explanation are copious and greatly helpful to any Muslims wanting to understand God's intentions and requirements for humans. But exegesis has comparatively little to say about seventh-century Arabia and how the Prophet himself understood it and functioned within it.

Scholars approaching Muḥammad's life are at once confronted by the awkwardness that the very earliest extant Arabic sources that chronicle his life date from at least one hundred and fifty years after his death in 632 CE, with no surviving biographical sources even of a fragmentary nature dating from within the first "silent" century and a half. If his enemies or even neutral observers in his lifetime wrote accounts of his actions, they have not survived, with the exception of a few slender and undetailed lines from mainly Christian chroniclers in Greek, Syriac, Armenian and other regional languages that are actually hard to reconcile with the traditional Islamic narrative.[8] It is equally problematic that the only surviving Arabic sources written in the ninth and tenth centuries CE with sufficient detail to support the construction of a narrative were written by acolytes who supposedly based them on earlier sources that are now lost or on unverifiable oral traditions; both of which were also the product of a sacralizing intention. This increases the possibility that the sources are imbued with bias and possibly include distortions or fabrications which were added to create, or

at least to strengthen, a single desired viewpoint.

This should not be read as doubt on the historicity of Muḥammad or the basic unfolding of his life. On the contrary, it is clear from the archaeological, numismatic and documentary records that Arab armies spilled out of the Arabian Peninsula in the seventh century CE, undertook substantial warfare in neighboring regions, and established new cultural norms and a powerful polity in the names of their God and the recently deceased Prophet Muḥammad. Even the few contemporary and near-contemporary Christian and Jewish sources that we have mention him bringing religious teachings, proclaiming laws, leading armies, and fighting battles. One can only conclude, therefore, that he did live and the new religion of Islam grew from his teachings.

Moreover, within the Islamic tradition itself we have later copies of some very early records. These include the nine letters written by ʻUrwah ibn al-Zubayr (who died c. 711 CE) addressed to the Umayyad ruler ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and his son and successor, al-Walīd I. These letters, which sketch out the Prophet's life in a coherent but generally inchoate and gap-riddled form, were not written for posterity or for the purpose of public education, but only for private consumption to answer the rulers who had asked for information of matters of interest.[9] They nonetheless provided a basis for the subsequent biographies or chronicles by al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, Ibn Saʻd, Ibn Rāshid, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, and others. Indeed, ʻUrwah's letters provide vastly more detail about Muḥammad's life than, say, Paul the Apostle's letters do about the life of Jesus.

ʻUrwah was not himself a companion of the Prophet, but his father, al-Zubayr ibn ʻAwwām, was a very close and trusted companion. Al-Zubayr will feature often in this book. Through his mother Asmā, ʻUrwah was also a grandson of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the Prophet's first successor. His letters therefore are both early and authoritative, meaning that, although not an observer or participant himself, he received information directly from people who were both. Original manuscript copies of ʻUrwah's letters have not survived, but they were quoted or reproduced in many later works, as were the *aḥādīth* gathered and written down by one of his students, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (died 742 CE).

Al-Zuhrī was an intellectually gifted scholar, prodigious collector of *aḥādīth*, and passionate recorder of the Prophet's biography. Al-Zuhrī was

close to the Umayyad state leadership, and this possibly led to the inclusion of reports, or the taking of positions, asked for by the Umayyad Court. Yet his work on *Sīrah-Maghāzī* (the biography of Muḥammad and narratives of his raids and campaigns) is detailed, thorough and consistent, and it consequently forms the basis of the early extant biographies of Muḥammad mentioned above. Of course, those biographies were mainly written during the first and second centuries of the ‘Abbāsid dynasty and are not themselves free of present-centeredness and dynastic bias. They clearly reveal a bias against certain ancestors of the earlier Umayyad founders.

Some non-Muslim historians of Islam’s origins consider the early books of *Sīrah* to be so late in origin and reflective of the concerns of later interest groups — not to mention being so hagiographical and imbued with miraculous and supernatural interventions — that they cannot be considered reliable records of the Prophet’s life, except perhaps for its very broadest outline. Whilst I agree that it is a little problematical that the most influential and detailed early biographies were written 150, 200 or even more years after the Prophet’s death, I do not see this as rendering them unusable. Even if we recognize the hagiographical and sacralising nature of the early works of *Sīrah-Maghāzī*, we should also acknowledge that they contain a wealth of information for the historian to critique and interrogate, a rare situation for the life of a figure from late antiquity. That is not to say that the earliest sources always or even usually agree with each other. On some issues the differences are great and very difficult to explain, let alone to reconcile. The differences stem mainly from the writers’ preferences for which earlier narrators they should trust and favor.[10] Moreover, the order of some events presented in the sources varies considerably, making it difficult at times to establish causality.

Anyway, scholars should not avoid trying to say something objective, detailed and meaningful about Muḥammad’s life because of these imperfections and the likelihood of subjectivity and bias in the sources and the fact that they date from the ninth and tenth centuries. Otherwise, scholars would also have to abandon trying to write about Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Jesus Christ, and many other historical figures. The key extant sources for their lives also postdate the events by centuries, are equally problematic in terms of the sources they drew upon, and are no less likely to contain subjectivity and bias. The earliest extant Greek source for

Alexander's life, for example, is the *Bibliotheca historica*, full of mythic content, written by Diodorus Siculus over 265 years after Alexander's death in 323 BCE. Even more inconvenient than this gap of 265 years is the fact that the oldest extant manuscript copy of the relevant section of the *Bibliotheca historica* (Book XVII) dates from the fifteenth century CE, over 1,500 years later.[11] Yet it is still considered indispensable by scholars wanting to understand Alexander's life.

I chose to write this book because, as a scholar of war and strategy for the last twenty-five years or more, and as a Muslim for most of my academic career, I have long wanted to read an evidence-based, objective and strategically insightful book on the warfare of the Prophet that I could learn from and recommend without reservations to my students. I have read virtually every book on this subject in English and very many in Arabic, but have felt a little disappointed or frustrated by most of them. I therefore wrote this book primarily to answer for myself many of the questions that I had, or which my students have put to me, for which I could not find satisfactory answers.

Most of the modern books on Muḥammad and war written by Islamic scholars tend to focus on *Fiqh* (jurisprudence); on providing normative rulings on how war should be started, fought, and ended and normative rulings on what levels and types of harm can be done to (and what protections should be extended to) different categories of combatants and noncombatants. The authors nowadays devote considerable effort to creating a philosophical but especially a jurisprudential case that the classical Islamic rulings are favorably comparable and highly compatible with the Geneva Conventions and other key treaties and accords that form the heart of International Humanitarian Law. That is fine, and some of the books are so beautifully written and highly persuasive that I greatly enjoy reading them and I certainly learn much from them. Yet they rely on extracting and permanently separating evidence from its original historical context in order to create timeless and universally applicable principles, as though there is no value in studying the past for its own sake; merely to learn about the past and how things once were. These writers also frequently choose not to look directly at, interpret and form opinions about the original events and the sources for them, preferring instead to look at them through the eyes of the notable *Fuqahā* (experts on *Fiqh*) who wrote

on them throughout successive centuries. As a historian, I prefer to see evidence presented and interpreted in context, meaning that the experiences, ideas, actions and reactions of people from seventh-century Arabia should be studied with the seventh century being the only deliberately utilized frame of reference and without either wanting to find any modern-day normative application (beyond showing that the past is terribly interesting) or molding the interpretation to conform to dominant current ideas.

Two recent books by western historians on "Muḥammad as a general" — which of course he never was — do precisely that: create interpretations in order to conform to dominant current ideas. To the authors, Muḥammad was an insurgent waging a relentless insurgency against the state.[12] Written when Islamic insurgencies in Afghanistan and Iraq were at their height, and when the so-called War on Terror generated tremendous interest in Islam in general and Jihād in particular, the anachronistic and present-centered nature of these works entirely strips them of the value that I had hoped they might give to my students.

Many of the modern Muslim writers who have tried to explain Muḥammad's warfighting in isolation from the other key aspects of his life and career have produced equally poor works with little intellectual merit.[13] They essentially uncritically summarize but do not interrogate Ibn Hishām's and/or al-Wāqidī's narratives, and they ignore most or all recent scholarship, especially if written by non-Muslims. They also write hagiographically and apologetically, with no attempt made to seek any critical distance or to consider different vantage points or explanations. Some of these books misrepresent Muḥammad's military activities to an appalling degree. One notable recent example (a published PhD dissertation, no less) even claims — in an attempt to promote a view that the Prophet had created a modern-style government — that Muḥammad established various function-specific bureaucratic and administrative war ministries, including a Department of Planning, Department of Operations, Department of Training, Department of Armaments, Department of Medical Services, and others.[14] These simply never existed; nor anything remotely resembling them. The obvious qualitative exception to these sorts of books is Muhammad Hamidullah's book, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad,* which is a well-researched and insightful book.[15] Its weakness is that its author, a knowledgeable scholar of *aḥādīth* and law, was not a

scholar of war and knew rather little about what we today call strategy, operational art, and tactics, or how best to make sense of them. He also accepted and usually preferred supernatural explanations for various events and outcomes for which there are perfectly rational natural explanations. Rodinson correctly observed that Hamidullah's works, for all their industry, contain "an apologetic flavor supported by an absolute, uncritical confidence in the [*Sīrah*] sources."[16]

Popular rounded biographies of Muḥammad by Muslim writers seldom deal adequately with his warfare, as this study will reveal below. The understandable desire to portray Muḥammad as being virtually perfect at everything he set his mind to, and to show that he was a societal reformer who never undertook raids or fought battles according to the norms of pagan pre-Islamic Arabia, but introduced innovation at every step, unhelpfully creates tremendous inaccuracies. It is difficult to know what to make, for example, of books like Safiur-Rahman Al-Mubarakpuri's best-selling work, *The Sealed Nectar*, perhaps the most widely read modern biography of Muḥammad, which claims in all seriousness that "Allah's Messenger won all the battles he fought" and that nothing ever made him genuinely frightened.[17] The very sources that Al-Mubarakpuri quotes throughout his book show that both statements are manifestly untrue. Muḥammad led a number of unsuccessful raids and badly lost the Battle of Uḥud (through no fault of his own). And if we apply an even-handed standard and say that Muḥammad won a victory during the Battle of the Trench in April 627 CE (as many writers insist) because the Quraysh and Ghaṭafān tribes could not drive home their siege and they consequently withdrew, then we are compelled by fairness to say that Muḥammad lost the Battle of Ṭā'if in February 630 for exactly the same reason. He could not drive home his own siege and consequently withdrew from Ṭā'if. Muḥammad also felt fear like any human, sometimes great fear, but he was able to steel his nerves and to lead very well despite it, doubtless due to his profound trust in God.

We also see the impact of present-centeredness at work in many of the books on the Prophet's warfighting. For example, wanting Muḥammad's conduct to conform to a modern inaccurate belief that warfare was always undesirable and that offensive warfare was always considered unethical, Juan Cole explains away Muḥammad's offensive campaigns by saying that

Islamic sources for them "appear to be fiction".[18] He describes the Mu'ta battle as "a supposed campaign," again implying that it never occurred. He even says that Medieval Islamic jurisprudence got wrong the meaning of Qur'ānic verses that seem to allow or require offensive operations.[19] Likewise, Reza Aslan writes that "perhaps the most important innovation in the doctrine of jihad was its outright prohibition of all but strictly defensive wars … Badr became the first opportunity for Muḥammad to put the theory of jihad into practice … Muḥammad refused to fight until attacked."[20] As this book will show, offensive warfare was not always seen as wrong — indeed, it was commonly seen in the ancient world as a glorious and praiseworthy way of achieving lofty societal goals — and Muḥammad conducted numerous offensive attacks without the slightest immorality in doing so.

Related to that, the greatest weakness of many books on Muḥammad's warfare, and indeed in many fully rounded biographical works, is the apparent awkwardness felt by writers that the Prophet launched many scores of offensive armed raids against tribes throughout the Ḥijāz, and not just against the Quraysh tribe that had persecuted Muslims during the Meccan period. It goes without saying that, after Muḥammad's *Hijra* or migration northward from his hometown Mecca to Yathrib (soon renamed al-Medina) in 622 CE, his community was small and weak and incapable of major warfighting. It is certainly untrue that — as one imaginative writer claims — from the very moment when Muḥammad arrived in Medina, which became a "powerful military base," the Quraysh tribe of Mecca "were from now on doomed to live in constant fear of the newly emergent power of Madinah."[21] In fact, Muḥammad was powerless for quite some time after the *Hijra*. But there was no suggestion that he wanted to undertake major warfare anyway, and this is unrelated to why he chose to commence raiding. He could have done nothing, or done something else. All sorts of causal explanations are put forward, not all of them plausible and adequately supported by evidence. The acquisition of booty — especially the wealth that could be taken from commercial caravans and the herds of camels and other animals that could be seized from seminomadic tribes — was clearly a strong motivation for these raids in the minds of many Muslims, as it also was during major campaigns, something that tends to be downplayed or hidden altogether in books.

There is no need to conceal the Muslims' passion for booty. It was a means of raising one's living standard considerably. Even the acquisition of a small amount of booty such as ten camels or the weapons and armor of a single slain or captured foe (worth the value of a family-supporting orchard of date palms, if sold) could transform the quality of life of a family for many years.[22] The desire for this economic uplift was widespread throughout Arabia and it does not by itself make the raids in any way immoral. Indeed, the current study will critique the popular explanations and try to make a case that Muḥammad very rationally chose raiding — which was certainly not then understood to be immoral — as a means of advancing goals because it brought significant benefits, conformed to seventh-century norms and usefully fulfilled various societal expectations. Indeed, although it may have been unusual for a seventh-century urban-oriented community in the Ḥijāz to undertake such activities, as opposed to the people of the countryside, that alone did not make them terribly controversial, let alone immoral. And for an ambitious growth-oriented community that was always likely to include increasing numbers of the nomadic or seminomadic peoples around it, and which wanted to expand its influence and improve its living standards, the raids made a lot of sense. Moreover, when undertaken as part of a strategy to fulfil God's mission, as Muḥammad said it was, booty became God's righteous reward. It will be argued that, because God permitted or even required the fighting and the taking of booty, there is no need to debate whether Muḥammad's warriors fought for God, gain, or both, because to Muḥammad the two were not only inseparable, they were also mutually reinforcing. The booty won by fighting in God's cause made the Muslim warriors more eager to take part in both war and worship.[23]

It is also clear that, despite early jurists dealing with it at length, subsequent Islamic writers — especially the Prophet's innumerable biographers — have increasingly dealt with the issue of the Prophet's revenue by exercising an awkward self-censorship. That is, wanting to portray Muḥammad as a man entirely devoted to spiritual matters, eschewing the world, they have chosen not to analyse the roles that booty in particular or wealth in general played in his own life, even though the early sources themselves reveal him to have unusually successful in his personal finances. Preferring to perpetuate the image of the "impoverished prophet,"

they have seldom mentioned and even less often highlighted the tremendous wealth that flowed from Muḥammad's hands to his wives, his relatives, his closest friends, his followers, his allies, and even the travellers who passed through his lands and sought his hospitality. He really was a river to his people. His masterful accumulation, public demonstration and distribution of wealth partly explains why he was so attractive to the people of his time, who expected their leaders to be men of observable accomplishment in all the areas that provided most esteem: warfare, judicial and selfless leadership, and wealth generation. The latter genuinely mattered. The Arabs wanted to follow men who could gain wealth, demonstrate publicly the honour that great wealth brought to their tribe or group, and then bestow without hesitation that wealth where it was needed most. Muḥammad was such a man. He understood that, while he could and should live a frugal and spartan private life (which he did), as a chieftain he needed to be, and *be seen* as, a man of success, status, social conscience and unusual generosity. This impulse was ever present and it undoubtedly shaped the way that he understood the nature of warfare.

It is my sincere hope that my fellow Muslim sisters and brothers — whom I see as the most likely readers of this book — will respect my desire to make true and evidence-based statements about the Prophet and his warriors. They may read things in my book that they have not read before, and they may indeed be surprised by them, but that does not mean that I am either a contrarian or an iconoclast, wanting to challenge or reject popular opinion for some complex inner reason. Quite the contrary; I merely believe that the best way I can respect the Prophet whom I esteem is by researching and writing about him with a desire for objective truth. I sincerely hope my readers will see that I have been careful and judicious in my selection and use of evidence, that I rely on the standard and respected early Islamic books of *Sīrah*, the Prophet's biography, that I do not marshal the evidence to create or prove a predetermined argument, and that I fully and accurately cite the sources used for every assertion. I am comforted by the fact that Islam has always allowed and even encouraged the sincere search for meaning and truth, that it is tolerant of scholarly differences of interpretation, and that my modest contribution to the *Sīrah* is part of a continuous scholarly process throughout fourteen centuries of trying to understand the Prophet Muḥammad, that most remarkable of men.

Lastly, I want to highlight my intellectual debt to the scholars from whom I have learned most: Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, the greatest historian of Islam; Majid Khadduri, whose many books, but especially *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, made a significant impression on me; and two contemporary historians of early Islam: Michael Lecker and Fred Donner. I cannot imagine where I would be without having benefitted so much from these scholars' God-given intellects.

Professor Joel Hayward
Abu Dhabi, 2022

Note: In the *aḥādīth* and certain books of *Sīrah* one finds after Muḥammad's name or title the respectful words "God's prayers and peace be upon him" (represented in calligraphy as s). That calligraphic symbol only appears in this book in direct quotations from *aḥādīth* and scholarly works which include it. The author's respect for the Prophet, based on decades of systematic analysis of the key events of his remarkable life, is to be assumed by the reader.

Section 1

Raiding as a Norm: The Best Explanation for the Initiation of Warfare For most of Islamic history, Muslim scholars have wrestled with the fact that, very soon after the Prophet Muḥammad's *Hijra* from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE, warfare became a significant feature of the new religion's early life. Muslim scholars are unapologetic that Islam is not pacifistic; after all, none of the great monotheistic religions excludes fighting, and all require fighting if it is clearly revealed to be in God's cause. Yet the reality that the first major armed confrontation involving Muslims — the Battle of Badr in March 624 — occurred as the Quraysh tribe's response to an attempted Islamic raid on its trade caravan, created an explanatory complication for Muslim scholars.

This was not even the first such attempted Islamic raid on caravans, but the eighth. Given the offensive rather than defensive nature of Muslim raids

on neighboring tribes or clans, which continued around eight times every year until the Prophet's death in 632 CE, Muslim scholars have had to explain why a religion that proclaims peace and forbearance actually routinely employed military force offensively, often to acquire the possessions of others. Ella Landau-Tasseron notes that, "even in modern times, some Muslim scholars have felt uncomfortable about the Prophet's looting expeditions and have tried to explain them away, or to deny them altogether."[24] Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqi typifies the apologetic denial that Landau-Tasseron mentions. According to Siddiqi: "It must be borne in mind that all the expeditions, whether *ghazawāt* or *sarāya*, were not military campaigns; several of them were simply political missions, or religious excursions. Many modern writers have considered them military operations, grossly misunderstanding their true character".[25] Al-Mubarakpuri's book, *The Sealed Nectar*, says something just as fanciful: the first raids were "survey patrols delegated to explore the geopolitical features of the roads surrounding Medinah and others leading to Makkah, and building alliances with the tribes nearby."[26]

A few non-Muslim writers have also adopted this position (and even the wording). Juan Cole, for example, calls the raids "exploratory journeys," which, rather than being martial in nature, "seem instead to have been a search for rural allies."[27] Bothered by the fact that there were, in fact, around eighty such raids, Cole explains away the huge number as the exaggeration of the first writers of *Sīrah* ("later biographers multiplied these military encounters …. One suspects later generations of inventing exploits for the glory of an ancestor.")[28]

Not all Muslim scholars have felt this embarrassment, of course. Martin Lings, author of one of the most popular modern biographies of Muḥammad, states with unusual candor that, after the *Hijra*, "God had declared war on Quraysh. His messenger was therefore obliged to attack them by every means in his power and to make it clear to them that Arabia would never be safe for them until they submitted to the Divine Will. … But for the moment there could be no question of anything but raids."[29]

The most common, but by no means unanimous, current Islamic scholarly explanation is neither unreasonable nor illogical. It argues that, after the *Hijra*, the Muslims in Medina were only seeking to take back the value of their properties which had earlier, when they emigrated from Mecca, been

seized by their persecutors. Taking back the financial equivalent of forcedly abandoned property and chattels ("extricating their belongings from Quraish by overpowering them in battle," to quote one modern writer[30]) was not immoral or unjust, according to those who advance this narrative.[31] On the contrary, it was only fair and indeed, after the Muslims found themselves struggling without wealth in Medina after the *Hijra*, it was economically necessary. Karen Armstrong, not herself a Muslim but the author of two excellent biographies of Muḥammad which won acclaim with Muslims, sums up this rationale more articulately than most (despite the anachronistic assertion that bankers were a profession in early seventh-century Arabia): At the very least, [Muḥammad] had to ensure that the Emigrants did not become a drain upon the economy. But it was difficult for them to earn a living. Most of them were merchants or bankers. But there was very little opportunity for trade in Medina, where the wealthier Arabs and Jewish tribes had achieved a monopoly …Their aim was not to shed blood but to secure an income by capturing camels, merchandise and prisoners who could be held for ransom.[32]

These scholars maintain that the aggressive enemy responses to these appropriately motivated Islamic raids included several large enemy attacks that posed serious existential threats and required Muḥammad to undertake morally appropriate defensive and preemptive operations.

Other Muslim scholars essentially ignore the offensive nature of the raids that Muḥammad initiated, and claim that Meccan and other non-Muslim opponents of Islam were so hell-bent on destroying the new religion, or the community that upheld it, that they undertook or threatened unprovoked aggressive campaigns or duplicitous and harmful activities against Muḥammad and his followers even after they had migrated to Medina.[33] The Muslims' *defensive* fighting or the punishment of treachery therefore became necessary to prevent the destruction of the nascent community. Typical of this approach is apologist Afzal Ur Rahman, who disregards evidence to the contrary to write that Muḥammad "took to fighting when his own life and faith were threatened and he had no alternative but to defend them by force. ... He did take arms … for defence of his faith and not to convert people to his faith. After all, how could Islam survive against the deadly designs of its enemies from all directions".[34]

Some classical Muslim jurists accepted variations or combinations of

these explanations. Yet many others favored different and less apologetic explanations, such as that the initially powerless but increasingly powerful Islamic polity steadily developed a revelation-based rationale that, because non-Muslims were stubbornly holding on to pagan or polytheistic beliefs in Mecca, force was required to compel resisters to submit to Islamic authority. To facilitate this, uncompromising divine revelations descended from God to abrogate, or replace, the early conciliatory revelations that now had no applicability.[35] Going even further, a popular non-Muslim and commonly non-academic claim now found in books, articles and especially websites, blogs and social media is that Muḥammad always believed so firmly in the religious superiority of Islam over other religions that, after he became sufficiently powerful in Medina, aggressive warfare immediately became the instrumental method of attaining the subordination of all non-Muslims throughout Arabia (not just those who rejected the new religion) that he had always hoped for.[36]

This section will try to describe and explain the causes of raiding within the final decade of the Prophet Muḥammad's life, and especially the reasons for the very first raids. It will analyze the evidence for, and the logic of, the raids being an ordinary aspect of seventh-century Arabian life that Muḥammad naturally undertook as any other tribal leader would.

Making Sense of the Past As well as interpreting evidence to understand specific human ideas, intentions, actions and beliefs, historians commonly try to understand and explain the "context" (the circumstances that form the setting) of human events, focusing their analysis on broad political, cultural, social or economic forces or dynamics. To varying degrees, historians accept that most events occur as a result of prior events or current forces, or a combination of both, that somehow "cause" the events to happen in the way they do.

One challenge for historians seeking to understand causality is that it is often difficult to escape present-centeredness. This denotes the way that people base their understanding of processes, experiences, norms and values in the unobservable past upon their understanding of similar-seeming processes, experiences, norms and values in the observed present. For

example, because even competitive countries or peoples nowadays ordinarily act towards each other as though a general state of peace exists, except when there is a particular grievance between specific countries, it is easy today to believe that this was always the case. Yet in seventh-century tribal Arabia the opposite situation existed. A state of war was understood to exist between one's tribe and all the others around it, except where a particular arrangement had been established between specific groups which might facilitate amicable relations.

Similarly, if a certain type of behavior — for example, raiding the territory of other communities in order to loot from their herds or their trade shipments — is morally indefensible today, then it is natural to believe that it must have always been similarly indefensible in the past. To most people today, the idea that rustling could have ever been seen as an ordinary, and even as an expected and esteemed, activity would seem a highly dubious proposition. Yet, as will be shown below, in sixth and seventh-century northern Arabia this type of raiding was widespread and certainly not, in itself, morally unacceptable, much less legally or religiously prohibited.

Another challenge for Muslim scholars of early Islam in particular is their understandable but perhaps unhelpful desire to see the era of the Prophet as a clean break from whatever came before or was being done in Arabia at the time of, but outside the influence of, the Prophet's ministry. The characterization of pre-Islamic or non-Islamic Arabia as "the *Jāhiliyya*" (الجاهلية) — the "earlier ignorance" mentioned in the Qur'ān[37] — has cast a long shadow over Islamic historiography, serving as a bias that has shaped the way that change, continuity and norms are understood.[38] The ubiquitous Islamic belief that Arabia before the Prophet, or during his time but outside his influence, was markedly different and morally inferior to the new society that he created has given rise to a profound unwillingness to attribute anything done by the Prophet to the context of his time or to the cultural norms of his and previous generations.

This is certainly the case with the many scores of raids that Muḥammad ordered or undertook throughout the decade (622 – 632 CE) when he lived in Medina. With twenty-seven raids occurring under his own leadership, and at least fifty others led by commanders whom he appointed and sent out, the raids were a routine part of communal life during the Medinan

period, occurring on average every six weeks for a decade. Because of the bias mentioned above — the problem of having the concept of *Jāhiliyya* serving as a conceptual lens through which to see Arabia — most Islamic scholars of early Islam have ignored the fact that such raiding was very much an ordinary and (in many ways) esteem-bestowing aspect of sixth and seventh-century Arabia and that it continued in the Prophet's time and for a very long time afterwards.

During this period, the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula — who had not yet formed a clear understanding that they were all one people called the Arabs who had a common cultural identity that superseded tribal affiliations[39] — lived in non-state tribal organizations either as nomadic or seminomadic pastoralists or as residents of villages and towns. Those who lived outside of villages and towns, numerically the majority[40], were commonly called Bedouins, from the Arabic word *Badawī* (بَدَوِي), meaning those who inhabit the *Bādiya*, the desert or semi-desert. The term was almost synonymous with the word *'A'rāb* (أعراب), as the Qur'ān reveals[41], although the latter term should not be understood as "Arab" is now: as the generic title of the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of the wider Middle East.

Because of the acute dryness of the regions they inhabited, the Bedouins "were obliged to practice varying degrees of nomadism, often having to travel long distances in search of food and drink for their animals, following migratory routes determined by the availability of water and pasture."[42] The animals that they commonly herded included sheep, goats and, most regularly, most valuable and most esteemed of all, dromedary camels. From these they gained milk, meat, wool, hides, heating fuel, and, in the case of camels, a crucial means of transporting people and goods across waterless territory.[43] Despite modern stereotypes of Bedouins being primitive and ceaselessly barbaric — characterized by blood feuds and revenge attacks (which certainly occurred) — their pastoral nomadism was a nuanced, sophisticated and effective system of exploiting land that was incapable of being cultivated.[44]

The Bedouins were the majority of people in northern Arabia and saw themselves as being distinct from the *Ḥādira* (حاضرة), townsfolk who lived for all or most of the year in settlements built around wells or other

sources of water and who earned their livelihood from agriculture and manufacturing or from trade and pilgrimage income.[45] Yet the two communities had a regular but often tense or uneasy interaction, with each needing the other in various ways.[46] The Bedouins depended on settled communities for agricultural staples, such as grain and dates, as well as for numerous manufactured items essential to their desert life — weapons, cooking utensils, clothing, tent material, and other crucial items.[47] Conversely, the Bedouins provided the settled peoples with livestock — sheep and goats for food and camels and horses for hauling and riding — as well as with a limited range of animal products, such as hides, wool, hair, and milk products.[48] The Bedouins also served as hired transport, or security, for the trade caravans that passed through Arabia, and for the northern Arabian towns, which needed to get their crops and other trade goods to markets.

It is also very clear that the *Ḥādira* in northern Arabia, where Islam began, were very much influenced culturally by the Bedouins. The concepts of masculinity (honor, courage, self-sufficiency, resilience, generosity and so forth) which evoked the most admiration and loyalty among the entire population owed their forms and influence to the Bedouin. In northern Arabia the "paramountcy of Bedouin ideals" were, according to G. E. von Grunebaum, "uncontested".[49] "For centuries to come," von Grunebaum adds, "the settled [people] would tend to maintain their connection with the masters of the steppe and indulge in a subservience to Bedouin ideals".[50]

The earliest extant narrative sources for the life of Muḥammad (a body of literature later called *Sīrah*, سيرة in Arabic) — especially Ibn Hishām's *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* and Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*[51] — were first written in the early to mid-ninth century CE, two centuries after Muḥammad's death. They drew heavily upon earlier sources, none of which have survived except as quoted by these and later sources. One notices that the earliest extant narrative sources offer no real explanation for the fact that, around seven months after he arrived in Yathrib, Muḥammad initiated a series of offensive raids. F. E. Peters makes the same observation, noting that "The Muslim historians propose no particular motive for these expeditions."[52]

Usually called *maghāzī* or *ghazawāt* when Muḥammad led them or

Sarāyā when he delegated leadership to someone else[53], he initially directed these raids against caravans of the Quraysh tribe that had formerly oppressed him and his community when they lived in Mecca. In the two years or so before the famous Battle of Badr in March 624, he sent out eight such raids. Then, in response to the greater financial threat posed by the ninth, the Quraysh raised a stronger force than that which initially escorted the caravan, and marched it to Badr, where it suffered defeat at the hands of Muḥammad.

Regarding the first nine raids leading up to and including the Battle of Badr, the earliest extant narrative sources do *not* say that Muḥammad went on the offensive because he was trying to reclaim stolen Islamic possessions or their financial equivalent, or that income was urgently needed by the emigrants (*Muhājirūn*, المهاجرون) who had left their professions in Mecca to migrate to Medina.[54] This speculative assertion has a degree of logic, especially regarding the loss of income experienced by those who moved cities. As Ella Landau-Tasseron observes: after the *Hijra* "the Muslims urgently needed a livelihood, since they had left their former occupations of trade after emigrating from Mecca."[55] Yet this rationale, however logical, developed much later in Islamic history and is based on inference, rather than any explicit statements in the early sources.

Part of the argument grew from the convenient fact that, on the very first raids, Muḥammad only took emigrants with him, prompting some commentators to see this as evidence that the raids were intended for the emigrants to recoup their losses.[56] The earliest surviving sources do not say this. Rather, they reveal that Muḥammad's preference for emigrants over those Muslims who already lived in Medina before the *Hijra* (called the *Anṣār*, الأنصار) was based on his awareness that the Second Pledge of al-'Aqaba and his charter with the tribes and clans of Medina only required them to fight defensively if they came under attack, meaning in Medina itself and its environs, or if the Prophet himself was attacked therein (which would require them to protect him "from that against which they protected their women and children").[57] There was no contractual requirement for any of the *Anṣār* to join offensive raids in other regions, and the reason why he never sent any of the *Anṣār* on the pre-Badr raids is, as al-Wāqidī says, "because he did not think they would support him except in their

hometown."[58]

The earliest extant narrative sources also do *not* say that the first raids were intended to take the Islamic message to non-Muslims who had not yet heard it. Indeed, there is no mention in those sources of Muḥammad or Muslims sharing the new religious message on those first nine raids or even calling polytheists to forsake their gods and traditions. The sources even attest to Muḥammad making a non-aggression pact with certain polytheists during those first raids without imposing any religious obligation.[59] And one can only wonder about the logic of raiding the livelihood of subsistence-level people as a gesture bound up with calling them to a new religion.

Moreover, the early sources, like the Qur'ān itself, do *not* say that the first Islamic raids were in any way defensive attempts to thwart, interdict or deter Quraysh attacks on Yathrib. There were no Quraysh raids at all. Claims that the Meccans "began to make preparations on a large scale for an all-out attack on Medina which, they believed, would exterminate the nascent power of Islam" are made in ignorance of the sources and cannot be sustained.[60]

And the sources do not say that the first Islamic raids were intended as coercive pressure on the Quraysh to make them enter into a type of negotiated peace with the new Islamic community (it was not yet even an embryonic stand-alone polity)[61] or wage a struggle for regional power with that new community. In his marvelous book, *Muhammad at Medina*, Montgomery Watt argues for something like this, seeing in the first offensive raids "a deliberate intention on Muḥammad's part to provoke the Meccans."[62] Given that the powerless Islamic community in Medina initially numbered only a few hundred — outnumbered maybe thirty-to-one by rich, powerful and well-organized Meccans who opposed the new religious movement — this type of strategy would have been so gravely risky that Watt's argument is far from being the strongest explanation of those already mentioned.

An even weaker explanation found in two brazenly anachronistic recent books on Muḥammad's warfighting go even further by claiming that Muḥammad was an "insurgent" who wanted to overthrow the Meccan state, the raids being the first step on that journey.[63] To quote from one, "Muhammad began his struggle for a new order with a small guerrilla cadre

capable of undertaking only limited hit-and-run raids … Muhammad was the inventor of the methodology of insurgency" and was "its first successful practitioner."[64]

The earliest extant narrative sources are clear: in a very matter-of-fact way, without the slightest concern that any future readers might see these Islamic raids as improper, let alone as immoral, they simply say that Muḥammad sent out military detachments on offensive missions in order to raid from commercial caravans. Al-Wāqidī quotes Muḥammad saying before the raid that provoked what became the Battle of Badr: "This caravan of the Quraysh holds their wealth, and perhaps Allah will grant it to you as plunder."[65] Ibn Hishām and Ibn Sa'd say the same thing.[66] There is no mention of that wealth somehow morally belonging *to the Muslims* because of the Quraysh's earlier financial harm. Muḥammad himself presents this as a simple matter of raiding a caravan for its wealth.[67] Al-Wāqidī goes further, unambiguously revealing that the Battle of Badr itself was the unplanned result of an Islamic attempt to raid and plunder the large Quraysh caravan: Those [Muslims] who stayed behind [in Medina] were not censured, because a battle had not been intended. Indeed, they had set out for the caravan. … Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr said to the Prophet … "I did not think you were going out to meet the enemy [in battle]. I thought you were only going out for the caravan." The Messenger of Allah said to him, "You speak the truth."[68]

That is not to say that Muḥammad was indiscriminate about which tribes and clans should be raided. Before Badr the raids were directed solely against caravans of the Quraysh, with the exception of an unsuccessful pursuit mission led by Muḥammad to try to catch up with an enemy raiding party led by Kurz ibn Jābir al-Fihrī. That party had (wonderfully illustrating the commonness of raiding in this era) taken some of Medina's pasturing cattle only a few days after Muḥammad had returned from his own raiding elsewhere.[69]

That the Quraysh had previously oppressed and forced out Muslims in Mecca is certain, and the first Qur'ānic revelation allowing military force was aimed squarely at them because they had done so. Most Islamic jurists and Qur'ānic exegetes have agreed that *Sūrah al-Ḥajj* 22:39 contains that first transformational statement of permission to fight.[70] Including the verses above and below, it says: إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُدَافِعُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ

كُلّ خَوَّانٍ كَفُورٍ

أُذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظُلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى نَصْرِهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ
الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِن دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَن يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُم بِبَعْضٍ لَّهُدِّمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعٌ وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيراً وَلَيَنصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ مَن يَنصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ

38. Truly Allah will defend those who believe: truly, Allah does not love anyone who is a traitor to faith, or shows ingratitude.
39. To those against whom war is made, permission is given [to fight], because they are wronged — and truly, Allah is Most Powerful for their aid.
40. [They are] those who have been driven from their homes in defiance of right except that they say, “Our Lord is Allah” …

Thus, God was saying that the Muslims could attack the very people who had earlier oppressed them and forced them to leave Mecca. The Muslims had then been weak, but after the *Hijra* they had formed at least sufficient strength to dispatch very small offensive raids, not against the Quraysh themselves, but against their vulnerable caravans.

The raids were not defensive, at least not in the ordinarily understood meaning of the word: that Muslim forces marched forth to protect the community from an enemy military force known to be advancing against them. As far as the sources reveal, the Quraysh had already done their worst by driving the leading Muslims from Mecca (“driven from their homes,” as the Qur’ān says). With Muḥammad and his cadre now in Medina, there was no longer *any* active Quraysh armed pressure upon it. There were certainly no Quraysh attacks. There was not even ongoing persecution of Muslims who had remained in Mecca and not yet migrated to Mecca (except for the months after the Battle of Badr, which inflamed passions for a time), and those who migrated after the initial *Hijra* did not necessarily — especially if they had kin still in Mecca — lose their homes and property after they left.[71]

It is clear from Ibn Hishām that the initiative lay with Muḥammad, who began offensive raids. “Then the Prophet prepared for war in accordance with Allah’s command to fight his enemies,” he writes, “and to fight those

polytheists who were nearby whom Allah commanded him to fight."[72] Ibn Hishām's statement, which names the Quraysh *and* nearby non-Muslims as targets, actually undermines the later claim that raids were only to recoup from the Quraysh the value of the previous financial loss that they had caused. Al-Wāqidī offers no comment at all, and does not mention the Qur'ānic verse of permission. He simply begins listing, dating and describing the raids. So does Ibn Sa'd, whose narration broadly follows that of his teacher al-Wāqidī and is equally devoid of causal explanation.[73] Ma'mar ibn Rāshid — with Ibn Isḥāq a fellow pupil of al-Zuhrī, and a common source for al-Wāqidī — does not even mention the eight earlier raids and starts his description of Muḥammad's martial exploits with Badr.[74] The great chronicler al-Ṭabarī, writing over a century later, does mention the eight raids in his narrative account, but merely writes that they targeted the caravans of the Quraysh without saying why.[75]

Islamic scholarship as a whole relies heavily on the ninth-century collections of "sayings" on all sorts of issues, including raids, attributed with varying degrees of certainty and reliability to Muḥammad. Called *aḥādīth* (the singular is *ḥadīth*), these sayings are unlike the earliest narrative sources (the *Sīrah*, the Prophet's biography).

Far from providing a detached and impartial retelling of events exactly as an eyewitness might have observed them, the early narrative sources such as Ibn Hishām's and al-Wāqidī's biographies are more akin to a sacralizing and even mythic literature designed to create heroes and villains and, with recognized cultural topoi, themes and symbolism, to tell inspiring tales of divine intervention and great human deeds. This is not to call these early narrative sources "untrue" or "mythical". They dealt with real historical people and events and are no less true than the early Greek accounts of Alexander the Great's remarkable life. But thematically and stylistically their purpose of sacralizing Muḥammad and establishing an origin story for Islam is clear, and this needs to be taken into consideration when scholars seek to build arguments upon them.

The *aḥādīth*, on the other hand, emerged to provide Islamic jurists and other scholars with a normative means of providing exemplary models of idealized behavior.[76] In most cases removed from their historical context, the *aḥādīth* are presented and organized as small snapshots of Muḥammad's responses to, or decisions about, certain circumstances so that they might

serve as models of Islamic behavior and decision-making under similar circumstances. These fascinating sources also need careful handling by scholars, who should not ignore them as historical evidence, but should apply caution and judgment when trying to re-insert them back into presumed contexts.

Regarding the raids, the *aḥādīth* convey information about who went on each raid, who led it, what transpired, what prayers were offered, and how the spoils of war were to be distributed (clearly a major preoccupation of the participants). A representative *ḥadīth* on raiding says: It was narrated on the authority of Ibn ‘Umar that the Prophet s sent a raid towards Najd and I was with them. They got a large number of camels as a booty. Eleven or twelve camels went to every fighter and each of them also got one extra camel.[77]

That the taking of booty (غنيمة, *ghanīma*) was a central aspect of the raids is clear from many *aḥādīth*, such as: It has been narrated on the authority of ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr that the Messenger of Allah s said: “Those who participate on either a large or small raid and who return safely will get their share of the booty, receiving in the here-and-now two-thirds of their reward [the other third to be gained in the next life]; and those who participate on a large or small raid who return home having failed and been wounded, will receive a complete reward [in the next life].”[78]

Here we see the perceived connection of material success and divine favour; the belief that booty taken on a raid in God’s service is a reward or blessing from God in the here-and-now, alongside the spiritual blessing to be gained later in heaven.[79] Yet the *aḥādīth* say very little about causality. Ella Landau-Tasseron correctly states that “only rarely does one come across a ḥadīth such as the following: ‘Set out on raids so that you acquire good health and booty’” (“اغْزُوا تَصِحُّوا وتَغْنَمُوا”).[80]

Aḥādīth certainly reveal that Muslims were just as covetous of booty as the other Arabs around them. While digging the famous trench that would protect Medina from a coalition attack by the Quraysh and their allies in early 627, Muḥammad told his companions that in his mind he could see the cities of the Sassanid and Roman Empires. According to a *ḥadīth*, his companions enthusiastically begged him to pray that Allah would grant them victory over those empires, destroying them with their own hands, and

bestowing upon them “their homes as booty” (أنْ يَفْتَحَهَا عَلَيْنَا وَيُغَنِّمَنَا دِيَارَهُمْ وَيُخَرِّبَ بِأَيْدِينَا بِلاَدَهُمْ).[81] Muḥammad duly offered the prayers. In this *ḥadīth*, neither the companions nor Muḥammad mentioned any desire for the peoples’ religious conversion. For the sake of fairness, it should be noted that both al-Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām relate the story of Muḥammad’s visions of Persia and Rome with a promise of their later conquest by Islamic forces, but without mentioning the companions’ pleas that, through destruction, God would grant them the sought-after booty.[82]

Indeed, *aḥādīth* that identify booty as a goal rather than as a reward are unusual and greatly outnumbered either by *aḥādīth* which say that, while fighting for booty would be fine, fighting to proclaim the Qur’ānic message would be more spiritually worthy[83], or by *aḥādīth* that insist that the conversion to Islam of a defeated foe is a greater reward than the best of camels taken as booty.[84] Yet even these *aḥādīth* are absolutely silent on motive. Their silence on this issue is not suspicious, however, and nothing should be read into it. The *aḥādīth* were designed to capture descriptive detail, not provide causal explanation. Having said that, the *ḥadīth* narrated above, transmitted by ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Amr, makes clear that, whatever the motive, the raids were to be considered righteous actions. Some *aḥādīth* are even more explicit on this point. For example: It was narrated that Safwān ibn ‘Assil said: “The Messenger of Allah s sent us forth and said: ‘Go raid in the Name of Allah and in the cause of Allah. Fight those who do not believe in Allah. Do not mutilate, do not be treacherous, do not steal [وَلاَ تَغُلُّوا, meaning from the captured booty] and do not kill children.’”[85]

Clearly this *ḥadīth* shows that the recipients of harm were unbelievers and that the offensive raid against them, an act in Allah’s cause, was to be fought justly, but it still does not say *why* they were being fought in Allah’s cause at all, or why the low-casualty raiding of booty was chosen as the method. It seems to assume that the purpose of raiding was widely understood and did not therefore need to be stated. What is especially interesting about this *ḥadīth* and its variations is that it shows raiding — the sanctioned taking of possessions belonging to another community — to be a moral, indeed godly, act, whereas it casts the taking of possessions belonging to others within the same community as a forbidden activity. There are even *aḥādīth* (and reports in the early narrative sources[86]) in

which Muḥammad had promised eternal damnation for people who had stolen from the booty taken on raids.[87]

Aḥādīth draw a distinction between the esteem of raiding and the disgrace of brigandry — what we might today call highway robbery — by groups who had withdrawn themselves from the accepted ethical code and even, in many cases, from their tribal structures. Some of them had even been driven out of their clans for egregious acts ("cast away by his nearest, wearied of his misdeeds," to quote one pre-Islamic poem[88]). These vagrant-bandits, who robbed travellers, pilgrims and small and lightly defended caravans, were detested by even the most committed tribal raiders. Pre-Islamic poetry speaks harshly of these "roving bands, who have no camels of their own to guard and defend[89]," whose dishonourable activities were the antithesis of the potentially glorious raids initiated by the legitimate tribal authorities. Muḥammad also understood the profound ethical difference between his own raiding, which drew upon every noble value and virtue of the Arabs and provided tangible benefits for the community, and the disgrace of the violent and unsanctioned theft of travellers' property by people "who inflamed the land".[90] He predicted a time in the close future when, thanks to the influence of Islam, travellers and pilgrims would be able to travel unguarded without fear of robbery.[91] The Qur'ān itself prescribes the death penalty for those bandits, "who strive to make trouble throughout the land."[92]

There are a few *aḥādīth* originating from the post-Badr period which show that, when Muḥammad did send out raids against other tribes and peoples than the Quraysh, he told the appointed Muslim leaders that they were not to fight unbelievers until they had called them to Islam, and that even if the call was rebuffed, they were not to fight them if they subsequently agreed to pay a tax.[93] Yet even these *aḥādīth*, which deal with the potential *outcomes*, say nothing about the *motives*.

Qur'ānic exegesis, which is based on a belief that Muḥammad's actions occurred according to Allah's intention, also has little to say about the linking of human causality to those real-world events. Even the fascinating Islamic subfield of exegetical study that tries to explain the emergence of specific revelations (that is, particular verses or chapters of the Qur'ān), based on what scholars believe they know about the events in the Prophet's life — a study called *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* in Arabic — is speculative,

retrospective and ultimately unprovable.

Many books of exegesis (*Tafsīr* in Arabic) do reveal that certain Qur'ānic verses sequentially transformed God's initial permission to fight the Quraysh who had oppressed them into a wider mission to fight polytheists and unbelievers. The Qur'ān thus portrays war "in the cause of Allah" as an ethical act. However, different scholars disagree on the desired end state of the warfare. Some, including this author[94], maintain that, in the years after Badr, Muḥammad fought mainly defensive and pre-emptive battles against non-Muslims primarily for existential reasons, as well as certain offensive campaigns for demonstrable societally beneficial reasons. Other scholars assert that God required Muḥammad to make war offensively and continuously until the polytheists and unbelievers declared belief in the Islamic god or agreed to accept Islamic authority.[95] Yet in term of the causes of the first nine offensive raids leading up to and including the Battle of Badr, the seemingly limitless volumes of Islamic exegesis provide no consensus on causality and offer varying combinations of all the explanations mentioned above, none of which are found in the earliest extant Arabic narrative sources.

It is nonetheless worth noting that the Qur'ān generally mentions the taking of booty in war positively but is ambiguous as to whether booty was to be seen as the goal or the result of an engagement. Some verses (such as "So eat from what you have taken as booty [which is] lawful and good"[96]) clearly indicate that the taking and distribution of booty is a legitimate consequence of a just mission.[97] Yet the few verses here and there that seem to identity booty as the *goal* of a raid (for example, "Those who remained behind when you set forth to get booty will say, 'Allow us to follow you'"[98]) are ambiguous and ordinarily explained by exegetes including al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathir to refer only to a unique historical context, such as the assault on Khaybar in 628 CE[99], in which the taking of booty was naturally anticipated, and even proclaimed as an incentive, but not itself the purpose of the attack.

One can, of course, try to go around or beyond the silence of some sources and the ambiguity of others in search of an unstated motive for the raids, and there is an appealing logic to the popular modern Islamic assertion that the raids were intended by Muḥammad to recoup the value of the material losses that his community had suffered earlier in Mecca. This

author sees this as psychologically plausible, especially given that Muḥammad would have been acutely aware that the Muslims who had migrated to Medina with him came with little or nothing and were therefore a financial burden on the Muslims who were already living there. This doubtless caused unpleasant financial pressure. Yet we cannot push this argument too far. Neither the earliest narrative sources nor the *aḥādīth* speak of widespread or intense poverty. Initially the number of emigrants was small and outnumbered by Muslims already in Medina.[100] Moreover, the latter gave the emigrants work in their farms and orchards. Even if few of them were effective farmers, receiving half of the crops in return for their labor meant that most had jobs providing incomes.[101] In fact, they told the Prophet soon after emigrating that, because of this generosity, their provisions were so adequate that they feared they would miss out on Allah's blessings upon the poor and dispossessed.[102] By the time the numbers of emigrants had increased, booty from raiding was becoming significant, and after the successful Battle of Khaybar the emigrants were even able to repay the value of the fruit they had earlier taken as wages.[103]

Additionally, the speculative theory that the raids were aimed at recovering the value of unlawfully taken property would only make sense if the wider non-Islamic community of Medina would accept raiding as a culturally and politically acceptable means of addressing that grievance. This is especially true because Islamic raiding would increase the danger of Quraysh retaliation against everyone. If we were to judge events through a modern lens, we would inevitably be left wondering why the other Medinan tribal leaders allowed Muḥammad's initially small number of followers to launch any raids on other tribes' caravans as they passed along the main trade routes. After all, we should not forget that Muḥammad was initially only a mediator between two of the five major tribes in Medina, each of which had its own leaders, and he had not been invited to Medina with their knowledge that he would soon commence armed raids.

The answer seems to lie in the acceptability, indeed esteem, attached to raiding throughout Arabian society. Far from being seen as an extraordinary activity, much less as an unacceptable act of aggression and violence as we would now see it, raiding was very much an ordinary part of the fabric of society. It was a widespread tribal activity — a recognized and acceptable means of redistributing wealth and resources — with the potential for great

prestige and honor attached to it. A pre-Islamic poem sums up the spirit of raiding and the inherent passion for booty and the demonstration of the right personal qualities: “I have wandered the far horizons and am content by way of booty [so] that I have returned / To all noble qualities has my purpose aspired trying to gain my livelihood thereby.”[104]

The problem for the twenty-first-century reader of the early Arabic sources is that, particularly since the emergence of the Westphalian state system, we have come to see issues of war and peace differently to how they were seen throughout much of human history. Within the modern Islamic historiography of seventh-century Arabia, there is a widespread anachronistic depiction that warfare was then, like now, seen as undesirable and that offensive warfare was considered unethical. This was certainly not the case in sixth and seventh-century northern Arabia, the cradle of Islam.

The Ordinariness of Raiding War (الحرب, *al-Ḥarb* in Arabic) in sixth and seventh-century northern Arabia seems to have been an ordinary condition *between* tribes and clans and an equally regular activity *of* them. In that sense, rather than experiencing peace as the default setting as we now do — with grievance-based warfare occurring sporadically as states or substate entities have run out of better options to address their grievances — a general state of war was commonly understood in the seventh century to exist among the tribes and clans of Arabia.[105] Of course, within this context, with a state of war as the default setting, we know that many tribal groups, particularly the settled groups, did form alliances with others and enjoyed amicable relations based on mutually beneficial trade, commerce, and ancestral or kindship relations. Yet within this context, excluding those communities enjoying cordial relations, the action of one tribe raiding another was unlikely to turn peace into war or create an enemy. War already existed and the tribe being raided was already an enemy.

It may have been unusual for Muḥammad's community in Medina to undertake Bedouin-style raids, which was not the habit of the town-dwellers, but clearly it cannot have been entirely outrageous to have done so otherwise we would have records in the earliest sources of complaints or mocking about that very point by the non-Muslim clans in Medina, or even by the Meccans. The latter naturally did not like their own caravans being raided, but the sources do not include evidence that this was in any way an unacceptable activity for people who lived in a town to do, much less a violation of customary law.

It is often assumed that warfare was undertaken mainly or even only by the Bedouins, while the supposedly less-wild peoples of the main settlements were generally uninvolved in tribal warfare. This is not correct. *All* the peoples of the Ḥijāz — nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled — were routinely at war and they all esteemed the very same things within it. For example, when Muḥammad was a young man, Mecca, supposedly a stable trade and pilgrimage center, was embroiled in the Ḥurūb al-Fijār (the "Sinful Wars," named because fighting even occurred during supposedly sacred months), which were a series of battles primarily between the Kināna and Hawāzin tribes that lasted for four years.[106] Even when the Quraysh marched out thirty years later to fight Muḥammad in what became the Battle of Badr, they were deeply worried that the Banū Bakr ibn ʻAbd-Manāt ibn Kināna, with whom they had an ongoing blood feud (which started over a trifling matter[107]), would attack their warriors from the rear while they were heading north.[108] They only marched forth after they had secured promises (later they said from Satan in the form of a Kināna leader) that this attack would not occur. Similarly, the pagan tribes and clans within the Yathrib oasis had an ongoing feud that drew in the Jewish tribes. After the Battle of Buʻāth in 617, the war culminated in an uneasy truce or ceasefire (but not a peace treaty or other settlement) only five years before Muḥammad migrated to Yathrib. But they did not just fight each other. They fought anyone with whom they had grievances. Period. As will be shown below, Muḥammad was not the first to fight against and expel Jewish clans from Medina; the Banū Aws and the Banū Khazraj had done it. Al-Balādhurī wrote this about the Aws and the Khazraj: Before Islam, the Aws and the Khazraj fought many battles which made them experienced in war. They became so used to fighting that their might spread far, their

courage became well known and often mentioned, and their name became a source of terror in the hearts of the Arabs, who feared them.[109]

It is certainly clear that, after Muḥammad moved to Medina, he found himself among peoples who were both experienced at war from frequent fighting, and who enjoyed their reputation as people to fear. Muḥammad would not find it hard to get them to see the value of fighting.

Within this environment, the raiding of camels and other animals, or of trade caravans, was a constant year-round practice in both the Ḥijāz and the interior of Arabia, and even along Arabia's northern fringes, where the Ghassanids and Lakhmids served for centuries as client states of the two great regional powers, the Byzantine and Sassanid empires. For centuries before and almost up to the time of Islam's birth (and a little after, in the case of the Ghassanids), those vassal states actually served as buffer zones protecting the empires from the seemingly ubiquitous desert raiders, as we read in the *Ayyām al-'Arab* (lit. "Days of the Arabs") literature that covers the pre-Islamic period.[110] That these raids continued unmoderated by Islam is attested to in early Syriac and other sources. For instance, John bar Penkaye, writing in Mesopotamia in the late 680s CE, over fifty years after Muḥammad's death, complained that Muslims were launching regular raiding campaigns every year, during which they seized large amounts of booty and many prisoners.[111]

Indeed, raiding was, as American anthropologist Louise Sweet says, "a continuous practice of the Bedouin, year-round, and not a simple, direct customary response to particular and temporary economic fluctuations — losses through drought, disease, or other factors. Raiding is rather the major occupation of the tribesmen, taking up much of their time. It is an institutionalized, regular activity."[112] Fred Donner, a celebrated historian of Islam's origins, agrees. He writes that raiding in the sixth and seventh centuries appears "to have been a frequent, almost routine part of life in North Arabia [and] should probably be viewed more as a kind of sport than as true warfare."[113] Donner adds that "there appear to be definite 'rules of the game' in raiding that both sides were expected to follow in the interests of fairness; attacking non-combatants with lethal intent, for example, was considered bad form and was generally avoided." Sweet likewise refers to "the rules and etiquette" which govern raiding's prosecution.[114]

Analysis of the nature of Arabic raids in the seventh century relies

primarily on two types of evidence. The first is poetry surviving from the immediate pre-Islamic era and the period of Muḥammad's life, in which raiding and fighting feature prominently. Honor, courage, cunning, chivalry, élan and generosity are extolled (and routinely exaggerated). Courage (شَجاعة, *shajā'ah*) must be a man's natural state: "Yea, when a man faces not boldly the ugly things that come, the cords of quietness soon will snap, and his peace decay."[115] Similarly: "Ride on at leisure as one rides who has no fear … To shun a foe who calls me forth would bring me shame, so try my prowess, see my deeds, and tell the tale!"[116] Death is preferred to the disgrace of cowardice: "Therefore am I not one to buy life at the price of disgrace, or to look for a ladder to climb for fear of Death."[117]

The following verses are typical of these poems:

> Self-respecting are we, and never give our confederate cause to fear us; and we hold ourselves back from greed when other men yield to it / And we shield our honours by spending the most precious of our possessions; and in battle we leave our spears sticking in those we pierce, as we shout our name and lineage / And we wade through all the depths of a day of bitter bloodshed which destroys men round us, the booty whereof falls to the most valiant / And we set up our tents in the place where honour calls, and stay there steadfast …[118]

Similarly:

> Yea, many the warrior band, with red bows, have I led on — who goes forth to war may prosper, or mayhap rejoice [over] his foes. … Yea, far did I lead my fellows, distant our end and aim! / Time after time do I travel on earth that fails me not, to smite my foes, or it may be to meet on the way my doom / On foot do I wend, in spite of distance and weariness, and darkness and dawn bring me at last to the end I seek.[119]

One raider's description of a raid in another poem is illuminating: And when the darkness cleared away I sent them forth on their errand [so that] he that looked on them would liken them to a pack of famished wolves / When the troop rises to a rough upland plain, it pares away with its hoofs its highest parts ; and when it goes down to the low ground, it stirs up about itself a canopy of dust / And they ceased not until their spears brought home booty of captives and a herd of camels like red hills from a place far away /

Yea, I am one of a tribe whose lances in war are to their foes a poison mingled with their meat / Skilled are they in raids: their prey escapes not their horsemen, what time fright paralyses the coward who cannot bestride a steed.[120]

Attaining booty is clearly a desired consequence of raiding: We hope for the mercies of a Lord whose bounty is never failing: all good things are in His keeping, and through Him they come to men / A Lord who has given us possessions to hold as our own; and all things which God gives to men are a trust to be worthily used … [121]

The view that the gods or god (usually expressed more vaguely as Providence) are ultimately the bestowers of the booty craved by warriors during raids is found in very many poems, with verses like this: "And he who is destined to be fed with booty wins it on the day of plundering whithersoever he goes: and he who is withheld from it [by Fate] gets nothing."[122]

The acute physical suffering and struggle inherent in raiding, and the ability to persevere despite it, also feature prominently. Enduring hardship patiently was a highly esteemed Arab trait, and the poems admonish others who prefer easier living ("And if I had chosen, I could have sheltered my body from hardship, … But I reach up to the inheritance of a folk who were chiefs, and noble, and seas of generosity," one father tells his son rebukingly[123]).

One poetic description of this hardship vividly reveals the raider's struggle: And oft-times have I pushed on their way men who had no time to sleep, wearied out with travel, with camels lean through constant journeying, limping with sore limbs / Travel has spent all the fat in their bodies: thou wouldst think them beasts sick with raging thirst, with the veins of their fore-legs cut to let blood / They journey on through the flat wide deserts with the saddles, each one carrying on his way a brave warrior in a tattered shirt … / And many the inhospitable resting-place, not one to halt in long, have I stayed in for the waning of the night a spot meet for evil hap, an uneasy place for rest / I lay down there to sleep in the latter night, my pillow an arm stout of muscle, with veins not over-full of blood / When I raised my head from it, it was red and powerless: it seemed as if it were separate from my body, though it had not been severed.[124]

Similarly:

> And oft-times have I gone forth in the morning to meet my adversary, my companion [is] a stout heart, keen, trusty, well-known for its prowess / … And time was when I companied with young warriors [bent on a raid], whose food was the contents of water-skins green and discoloured and meat that had begun to stink / And time was that I rode the camel-saddle, while there scorched me a day with the sun in Gemini, deadly with the poison-wind / Blazing with heat, as though the blast of a furnace wrapped the rider round, reaching his body through his clothing, though his head was bound closely with a turban.[125]

Pre-Islamic Arabic poetry also emphasizes the expectation that the tribal leader responsible for a raid will be extraordinarily generous with his booty ("rich in bounty, pouring it freely to all"[126]). Indeed, to demonstrate his largesse, he may end up giving away many or all of the camels he has just received as his rightful portion. An example of this extolled generosity can be read in the poem of Salamah son of Al-Khurshub, of Anmār: "Thou hast given in thy bounty camels of full age that have just conceived, then those in the tenth month of pregnancy; and thou hast not withheld even the she-camel that yields, at a milking, a row of bowls, appointed as a nurse for the calves of others."[127] Similarly, Al-Qa‘qā‘ son of Ma‘bad son of Zurārah, a chief of Tamīm, is eulogized thus: "Yea, thou art more generous than a brimming canal, with waves surging one upon another and dashing against the banks."[128] One old poet, reportedly Khārijah, son of Sinān, reflected on his own earlier days of raiding and had this to say: Yet time was when I have brought at dawn upon the pasturing camels of a tribe a host of raiders, far-spreading, one following another, besetting them suddenly from lowland and upland alike / And time was that I have taken my part in the arrow-game when the milk-less camels were driven home at evening by the cold, rain joined with chilling wind / Then was I wont to give of my provision, without reserve, to all the folk of the encampment, whether protected strangers or seekers for bounty / And time was that I prevented, without causing injury to any, a breach in the tribe yea, all my equals in age are my witnesses! / Well do my people know how, when their long-continued raid has carried them far, and they have spent all their provision, I have lavished upon them all of mine / And I do not hide within me qualities for which I

shall be reviled …[129]

The second body of evidence for sixth- and seventh-century Arab and especially Bedouin raiding is ethnographic analysis of the raids which, as Jibrail S. Jabbur clearly demonstrates[130], remained a central feature of their lifestyle right up until the twentieth century.[131] Ethnography is the study of peoples and their cultures, customs and behaviors by observers who immerse themselves in the society under investigation and seek to establish their findings upon the group members' own interpretation of their behavior. Ethnography is a well-established and intellectually rich form of anthropological and sociological research that has obvious benefit for historians who want to make sense of the past. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, a number of western scholars and travellers spent considerable time with both Bedouins and settled Arabs with a view to understanding them. Ethnography as a disciplinary approach has come a long way in the last century, and early (pre-disciplinary) observers of Arabian everyday life were clearly not methodologically sophisticated. Nonetheless, from their richly detailed commentaries on the Arab tribes and communities that they observed — as well of course as the terrain, habitat and climate which shaped their lifestyles, values, attitudes, customs and rituals — we are able to gain profound insights into how they understood the competition for scarce resources and the role of raiding within that competition.

When analyzing ethnographic evidence, one must recognize the potential danger of relying on comparisons of practices and ideas that are separated from each other by more than a thousand years; a dynamic period in which many natural evolutionary changes would have occurred. Yet when we observe striking similarities between activities (and value and esteem attached to them) in the past — described in sources but not exhaustively and in the thorough and analytical way that modern scholars might want — and remarkably similar activities in today's world, with value and esteem almost identically attributed, it is not unreasonable for scholars to try to enrich their understanding of the original events by seeing how participants in more recent times have understood what they were doing. In the case of the raids, this type of ethnographic approach is especially useful because written records from intervening periods show tremendous continuity. Raiding was one of the oldest institutions of the tribes of northern Arabia

and continued, unmoderated by Islam, well into the twentieth century.

In terms of what we might consider the modern ethnography of Arabs and especially Bedouins, the Moravian scholar Alois Musil is seen as both the father of this field and, to this day, one of the most detailed and insightful commentators on their everyday lives, attitudes, values, perceptions, beliefs and behaviors. His 1928 magnus opus, the 700-page study, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, explains the motives, means, and methods of Arab raids that he observed as a central feature of Bedouin life.[132] Using the Rwala tribe as a case study from which one can generalize about Bedouin behavior, he wrote that they "are ever at war with one tribe or another."[133] Without war, he noted, a man "could not live. War gives him an opportunity of displaying his cunning, endurance, and courage."[134]

We should not understand "war" to mean large-scale structured engagements with high casualties. Musil makes clear that those types of attrition-heavy activities were far rarer than the numerous raids that ordinarily were stealthy small-scale affairs which seldom involved casualties. The former, now called *manākh*, were reserved only for those wars intended to take immovable prizes such as habitable territory, towns, wells and grazing lands. Ordinarily caused by droughts or other significant environment changes[135], or by political upheavals, these wars involved tribes or groups physically moving into lands already inhabited and utilized by other groups.[136] With each already merely existing at or slightly above the subsistence level[137], the land could not support both groups, making the conflicts essentially existential in nature.

The raids — *ghazawāt* — were very unlike these.[138] They occurred far more often and always in pursuit of movable prizes such as a neighboring tribe's camels, or booty from caravans and travellers. The cold seasons were naturally preferred over midsummer since this reduced the risk of thirst. During the abundance of Spring (*Rabi'*), edible plants, good pasture and plenty of water were available. Musil notes that, during this season, "the inner desert swarms with raiders of every description."[139]

Musil is clear that the raids performed a critical social and symbolic function. Rather than being seen as "theft" in any ordinary sense of being an individual's unlawful seizure of another person's private property — a punishable sin in Islam — raids were highly esteemed and socially expected activities in which manly qualities such as combat skill, courage, cunning,

stealth, resourcefulness and hardiness were developed, demonstrated, and then publicly recognized and eulogized. H. R. P. Dickson, who also draws comparisons with sport, writes that “Raiding brings out all that is hard, brave and skilful in [a] man, so the occupation is honoured and encouraged, just as everything tending to make a man soft and effeminate is despised by all true desert men.”[140] Raiding’s honorable status was so great that a distinguished raider “is honoured above all men, and boys and young men pine for the days when they will be allowed to accompany their elders on forays and so win their spurs.”[141] Jibrail Jabbur echoes this, noting that raiding was “a domain of activity involving not gain alone, but also the demonstration of valor and fortitude” and the raider’s opportunity — ordinarily his *only* opportunity — “to display his heroism, courage and martial skills.”[142] Louise Sweet similarly states that: Participation in a raid is a prime means to gain prestige and influence in the chiefdom. A bold and ambitious man seeks to become a successful raider, and especially to gain a reputation as a leader of many successful raids. The largess of booty animals that he can distribute adds further prestige to that gained through demonstration of his capacity as a leader.[143]

Each stage of a raid — the assignment of a leader, the preparation, the march or ride, the ambush, the fighting (if any actually occurred), the taking of booty, the rearguard defence, and the distribution of booty — was clothed in recognized social expectations and was virtually ritualized in form.

The aim was undeniably to acquire booty: camels in particular but also horses if they were found, or whatever goods such as tents, furnishings, clothing or food-related commodities were being transported by caravans. Musil notes that “all are eager for booty and an early, happy return to their families in order soon to make a new raid”.[144] Musil makes clear that many raids included only handfuls of participants, and that “war” is far too grand a word for what transpired. Ordinarily not for any lofty political purposes, the raids for booty were not intended to impose any political will upon an enemy (as we now understand war), but merely to allow participants to develop and demonstrate manly traits that would bring them esteem within their kinship groups. As such, the killing of enemies was seldom seen as a goal and care was taken not to cause a counter-vendetta through careless or excessive killing. If killing happened, it was not considered unjust, but a

swathe of unwritten yet clearly understood rules about the chivalric treatment of opponents, and their pardon if requested during any combat, ensured that raids were actually humane and low-casualty affairs. The "rules" and etiquette — such as ordinarily fighting during daylight, not harming women, children or the elderly and infirm, and giving any combatant the ability to surrender and be pardoned or ransomed — was clearly intended to prevent the wiping out of whole groups or even the seizure of their entire herds. They were left enough to live on. As Sweet explains: When a camp is successfully attacked … and the men defending it flee, a variety of rules and customs ensure that women and children are left with enough camels, food, and equipment to get to their nearest kinsmen, normally another section of the chiefdom not too distant. … [The] men will defend their camp if they see a fair chance of routing the raiders; but if they are clearly outnumbered, they retire rather than make a suicidal stand. Life is, ultimately, more important than property, and their opportunity to retaliate will come another day.[145]

William Lancaster also agrees that traditional raiding was "often said to have been almost a sport and there is certainly some element of truth in this for it was governed by fairly strict rules," according to which a raider must strictly adhere in order to maintain his all-important reputation.[146] He had to succeed within these rules "or his reputation suffered." At the heart of these rules was the convention "that bloodshed was to be avoided as far as possible."[147]

A quote from William Gifford Palgrave, another early observer, sums up the raiders' lack of both hatred and lethal intent: Their feuds are continual, but at little cost of life; the main object of a raid is booty, not slaughter; and the Bedouin, though a terrible braggart, has at heart little inclination for killing or being killed. … One cause of this great sparing of human life is the absence of those national and religious principles which so often in other countries … urge on men to bloodshed. … His only object in War is the temporary occupation of some bit of miserable pasture-land or the use of a brackish well; perhaps the desire to get such a one's horse or camel into his possession — all objects which imply little animosity, and, if not attained in the campaign can easily be made up for in other ways, nor entail the bitterness and cruelty that attend or follow civil and religious strife.[148]

Palgrave adds that, while the Bedouins love to boast all night of their

martial prowess, and make out that the engagements are violent, bloody and heroic affairs, there might actually be only two or three casualties, “and even these you must not set down at once for dead, as they were probably only slightly wounded, and will appear alive and well in next day’s report.”[149] In his seminal work, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, Jibrail S. Jabbur likewise writes of the “sporting way” that the Bedouins went about their raids. With prestige coming from the cunning and courage, rather than from their raw killing, they had a “fondness for battle and raiding – not a love of killing and bloodshed”.[150] He notes “the low level of fatalities in the early wars between the various Arab tribes in pre-Islamic times. … The same holds true for them in the raiding campaigns they staged, even in the early years of this [the twentieth] century.”

Muḥammad and Raiding Muḥammad sent out around eighty raids, depending on which of the earliest Arabic sources one prefers for reliability and whether one should include such things as pilgrimages. He led twenty-seven raids himself, in which he personally fought in combat nine times.[151] As noted, before the Battle of Badr in March 624, he sent raids almost exclusively against the Quraysh, which has allowed Islamic scholars to assert, despite the silence of the earliest sources, that these offensive raids had a retributive and restorative purpose and character. The great majority of the raids that came after Badr, on the other hand, cannot easily be explained in this fashion.

After the Islamic victory at Badr, the Quraysh tribe and Muḥammad's community in Medina entered a four-year period of grave and increasing enmity and competition, which involved the Quraysh sending large forces, sometimes including coalition partners, to gain revenge for Badr and to try to destroy Muḥammad's fledgling polity. In early 628, this rivalry ended when both sides signed what is now called the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya. For the next two years an uneasy peace existed until, in 630, allies of the Quraysh attacked allies of the Muslims, prompting Muḥammad, who had promised protection to his allies, to march on Mecca, which fell to Muḥammad with very few casualties. This is the broad outline known by most Muslims and it is certainly true in its fundamentals.

What is ordinarily left unexplained, however, is that Muḥammad continued sending men out on raids right throughout the period, including during the two-year Peace of al-Ḥudaybiyya and the final two years of his life that followed the conquest of Mecca. The targets included settlements such as the three Jewish tribal centres in Medina (in 624, 625 and 626), which he believed had betrayed or deceived him. They included Khaybar (in 628), which had helped to initiate what became the Battle of the Trench and reportedly sought an alliance with a powerful neighboring tribe in order to fight against Medina. Yet the vast majority of post-Badr Islamic offensives were small-scale, casualty-light *sarāya* against Bedouin tribes

and other groups throughout the Ḥijāz. Tribes which allied themselves to Muḥammad were never again raided, but all the others were fair game for raiding. The raids took precisely the same form as the initial raids except that after Badr many of the raids were shows of strength designed not only to take booty (which remained central, although it was less often taken from caravans now, but mainly, in keeping with Bedouin habits, from pasturing herds instead), but also to show Bedouin and other allies of the Quraysh that the Muslims were a force to be reckoned with.

To give a flavor of how the earliest sources capture the details of these raids, the raid led by Shujā‘ ibn Wahb in May 629 against a grouping of Bedouins, as recorded by al-Wāqidī, is fairly representative: The Messenger of Allah s sent Shujā‘ ibn Wahb with twenty-four men against a grouping of the Hawāzin in al-Siyy. The Messenger of Allah s commanded him to attack them, so he set out. He used to march by night and hide by day until he attacked them one morning when they were careless. He had earlier informed his companions that they should not be excessive. They captured many cattle and sheep. They drove them off until they reached Medina. Their portions were fifteen camels for every man. A camel was equal to ten sheep. The expedition lasted fifteen nights.[152]

Muḥammad had reportedly been weaned in the desert as a baby by Halīma bint Abī Dhu’ayb, a Bedouin wetnurse of the Sa‘d ibn Bakr, in whose care he may have remained until the age of six.[153] This was apparently a common practice among Muḥammad’s tribe, the Quraysh, who believed that the desert air would make the children hardier and that the Bedouins themselves would impart a purer form of the Arabic language. Muḥammad later recalled that, during these earliest years, he lived like his Bedouin foster-family and even shepherded sheep.[154] As a well-known *ḥadīth* records: ‘Abda ibn Hazn said, “The people of camels and the people of sheep vied with one another for glory. The Prophet s said, “Mūsā [Moses] was sent as a shepherd. Da‘ūd [David] was sent as a shepherd. I was sent, and I used to herd sheep for my people at Ajyad.”[155]

As a consequence of his weaning and early years with pastoral desert dwellers, Muḥammad proudly used to tell his companions: “I am the most Bedouin of you all” (“يقول لاصحابه: انا اعربكم، انا وكان رسول الله s قرشي، واسترضعت في بني سعد بن بكر.”).[156] Of course he was not a

Bedouin at all, but was expressing respect for the nobility, simplicity and authenticity of the pastoral life. He also observed the purity of their Arabic, and, after once hearing a Bedouin speak, he exclaimed, “Some eloquent speech has the influence of magic.”[157]

Many Bedouins were impressed by Muḥammad’s personality, strength and martial prowess, and he was generally patient with them, aware that his desire that any individual converts to Islam should move into the city of Medina to strengthen the community would be off-putting to desert-dwellers. He did not demand this of converted tribal clusters[158], or even demand this in all individual cases.[159] If they made their *bay‘a* to him (a solemn loyalty pledge), he considered them *Muhājirūn* even if they had to stay in the desert with their herds.[160] He was also tolerant of, and rather respectful of, their lack of refinement and rough interpersonal abilities, perhaps even identifying with their ascetic and modest lifestyle. Having said that, he was bothered when Bedouins did migrate to Medina, only to return to the desert.[161] He used this imagery quite often as a metaphor for spiritual backsliding.

Yet Muḥammad was thoroughly a city boy and man — a merchant from an urbanized clan of an urbanized tribe — who saw Mecca (and later Medina), not the desert, as his home. Despite the fact that he accurately recognized Arabia as a harsh and dry environment, in which all its people “had in common” a need for “pasturing, water and fire,”[162] which no person could deny to another[163], he knew there was a huge difference between settled townsfolk and those who lived in nature. In Medina he once told a story about a man who had died and gone to Paradise, where he still wanted to sow and reap because of his great love of farming. He thought it funny indeed when a Bedouin who was sitting with him exclaimed that the man was clearly either a Muslim emigrant to Medina, or one of Medina’s own Muslims, because “we [everyone else] are not farmers.”[164]

Although he had doubtless travelled with Bedouin guides during at least some sections of merchant journeys to Syria and elsewhere, and in his first years in Medina entered into harmonious relations with various Bedouin groups, he saw their ceaseless blood feuds as unhelpful and he later came to see many of the Bedouin tribes or clans with whom he dealt as stubborn and uncommitted in matters of faith, and unreliable and perhaps even untrustworthy as allies.[165] This disappointment is reflected in Qur’ānic

passages which criticize certain Bedouin groups for allying with the Quraysh[166] and lambast other groups with whom Muḥammad had entered into agreements for vacillating or even refusing to support Islamic campaigns or pilgrimages. For example, in *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:11, God criticizes a group of Bedouins for making flimsy excuses not to join an Islamic minor pilgrimage in the year 628 CE: سَيَقُولُ لَكَ الْمُخَلَّفُونَ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ شَغَلَتْنَا أَمْوَالُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا فَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَنَا يَقُولُونَ بِأَلْسِنَتِهِم مَّا لَيْسَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ قُلْ فَمَن يَمْلِكُ لَكُم مِّنَ اللَّهِ شَيْئاً إِنْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ ضَرّاً أَوْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ نَفْعاً بَلْ كَانَ اللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيراً

> 11. Those of the Bedouins who stayed behind and say to you, “Our possessions and families kept us busy, so ask [Allah] for our forgiveness” speak with their tongues what is not in their hearts. Say [to them]: “Who then has power on your behalf with Allah if He intends harm upon you or if He intends a benefit for you?” No, Allah is fully aware of all that you do.

Some of the Qur’ānic condemnations of specific Bedouins are even stronger, mirroring Muḥammad’s frustration that some Bedouins pretended to be faithful only in order to derive material benefit and that others rejected his appeals to them when they saw no likelihood of booty. Referring to Bedouins who refused to join the Tabūk campaign in 630 CE, *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:90 says: وَجَاء الْمُعَذِّرُونَ مِنَ الأَعْرَابِ لِيُؤْذَنَ لَهُمْ وَقَعَدَ الَّذِينَ كَذَبُواْ اللّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ سَيُصِيبُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ مِنْهُمْ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

> 90. And those with reasons among the Bedouins came to ask permission to stay behind, whereas those who lied to Allah and His Messenger sat [at home]. A painful punishment will strike those who disbelieve.[167]

It is therefore reasonable for scholars to question why, soon after the *Hijra*, he adopted the practice of frequent small-scale raiding and conducted raids in a form that was almost identical — with all the esteem-laden and ritualized elements retaining intact — to the way the Bedouins undertook theirs. Certainly his raids contained all the “salient features”, to quote Louise Sweet, of Bedouin raiding, namely that 1) raiding was a continuous process; 2) raids were mutually prosecuted among the tribes, as well as made against settled communities and caravans of merchants or pilgrims; 3) rather than being intended as a means of permanently taking specific

territory, raids were aimed at the stealthy taking of booty, avoiding the taking of human life as far could be reasonably managed; 4) raiding served as a means of redistributing wealth among the tribes; and 5) it had a significant financial and perhaps even existential purpose.[168] This description almost perfectly encapsulates the context, nature and conduct of Muḥammad's own scores of offensive raids.

There is certainly a remarkable conformity between the actual sequential process of raiding that was traditional to, and expected by, the Bedouins and the process employed by Muḥammad both before and after the Battle of Badr. In seventh-century Arabia, raids were generally undertaken by small bands numbering only dozens or scores.[169] If the destination was a considerable distance away, meaning that the group to be raided was less likely to be close kin, larger parties numbering in the hundreds might be sent. The objective and route were kept secret from all but a few until the moment of departure or shortly after. The march was conducted with the upmost stealth and secrecy, with the party advancing at night and hiding by day. Scouts would be sent out and information sought from passing travellers or local herders. The attack itself would be made during daylight hours, almost always at dawn, which led to raiders being known as "boys of the morning" (فتيان الصباح).[170] A night attack was ordinarily considered dishonorable. The taking of human life was avoided as far as possible, for both humane reasons and to minimize the likelihood of revenge. Mercy was to be granted to anyone who sought it. A portion of the force would then serve as a rearguard to deter the opposing group from pursuing them while they escaped with whatever they had seized. No part of the booty could be taken as property by any participant until the *sayyid*, the tribal leader in charge, had apportioned it, keeping a quarter for himself. Largesse and the demonstration of generosity were then expected of that leader, as was his responsibility for negotiating either the ransom of prisoners (فدية, *fidyah*) or the restitution to be paid for any violations of the accepted "rules" that governed the raids.[171]

Every element of Bedouin raiding listed here and described above by Louise Sweet featured consistently in Muḥammad's own raiding, including even such things as initially keeping the destination secret, advancing by night and hiding by day and, after the sudden morning ambush, setting a

rearguard to prevent pursuit.[172] All these features are clearly shown in the earliest extant Arabic narrative sources and the *aḥādīth*.[173] They also show how common this type of raiding was between tribes, with Muḥammad's community being at various times on the threatened or receiving end of raiding and on the delivery end (Muḥammad's own herds were frequently raided, for example, and his adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha barely survived a highway ambush by the Banū Fazāra on a mercantile mission to Syria).[174] It is worth noting that the heroic anecdotes associated with even such matters as fending off or pursuing enemy raiders who have taken Islamic herds — with flowery and hyperbolic claims by participants of how audacious, courageous, quick-thinking and clever they were — can be up to several pages long in some of the Islamic sources.[175] Remarkably, the Qur'ān itself (*Sūrah al-'Ādiyāt* 100:1-11) evocatively and very succinctly describes one of the raids: وَالْعَادِيَاتِ ضَبْحاً

فَالْمُورِيَاتِ قَدْحاً
فَالْمُغِيرَاتِ صُبْحاً
فَأَثَرْنَ بِهِ نَقْعاً
فَوَسَطْنَ بِهِ جَمْعاً
إِنَّ الْإِنسَانَ لِرَبِّهِ لَكَنُودٌ
وَإِنَّهُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ لَشَهِيدٌ
وَإِنَّهُ لِحُبِّ الْخَيْرِ لَشَدِيدٌ
أَفَلَا يَعْلَمُ إِذَا بُعْثِرَ مَا فِي الْقُبُورِ
وَحُصِّلَ مَا فِي الصُّدُورِ
إِنَّ رَبَّهُم بِهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ لَّخَبِيرٌ

1. By the [camels] that run panting
2. And strike sparks of fire
3. With raiders charging [فَالْمُغِيرَاتِ, *fa al-mughīrāti*] at dawn
4. And kick up clouds of dust
5. And penetrate into the [enemy] midst *en masse*
6. Truly mankind is ungrateful to his Lord
7. And about that he makes it clear
8. And he is fervent in his love of wealth
9. Does he not know — when that which is in the graves is

scattered
10. And that which is in the heart has been made manifest —
11. That their Lord that day has been well acquainted with them.

If the large pitched battles or campaigns such as Badr, Uḥud, the Trench, Mu'ta, Mecca, Ḥunayn, Ṭā'if, and Tabūk are excluded, the numbers of warriors on the scores of raids that Muḥammad sent out were ordinarily small, with an average of less than 100 raiders. Muḥammad himself reportedly said that 400 was the ideal size for a raid[176], but most were far smaller than this, especially during the first five years. One or two were very large, such as the raid against the distant Dūmat al-Jandal in 626 CE, with Muḥammad leading 1,000 warriors north for reasons that are not well developed in the earliest sources, but pre-emption is a possibility.[177] They marched at night and hid by day.[178] Attacking "whomever he attacked" — a phrase found in pre-Islamic poetry to indicate that the people actually raided were not the intended group or may even have remained unknown[179] — he raided herds there without a battle and any known deaths on either side before returning with captured camels to Medina.[180] Some raids, on the other hand, only involved 10, 20, or 30 raiders.[181] Three "raids" (all called *Sarāya*) actually involved only one warrior on each, sent to kill influential opponents, while another two, for the same purpose, only had four or five warriors.[182] On many of the post-Badr raids, like the very first three or four before Badr, no actual fighting occurred (and no booty was taken).

Typical of excellent military commanders then and now, and upholding the characteristic Bedouin emphasis on cunning and stealth, Muḥammad used deception as a normal feature of his military leadership. Al-Wāqidī notes that "the Prophet of God never undertook a raid without pretending that he was not doing so."[183] He kept raid preparations discrete, often informed leaders about the intended destinations via letters to be opened only after the parties had set off[184], routinely sent his warriors to travel by night and hide by day[185], told them to travel on unexpected or untrodden roads[186], and used ambushes on frequent occasions.[187] Sometimes when he encountered travellers while *en route* he pretended that he and his party were foreigners from distant lands.[188] He did not attack during the night[189], was clear that mercy should be granted to those who asked for it, and was strict about not killing men without necessity and not killing women,

children or the elderly at all. Indeed, we know from the Prophet's biography that, before sending out raids, he would direct them not to kill the people that we now call noncombatants. For instance, when he sent Abū Qatāda and sixteen warriors on a raid against the Ghaṭafān tribe towards the Najd, he instructed Abū Qatāda: "March by night and hide by day. Make an assault, but do not kill women and children."[190]

Just as most of the Muslim raids involved small numbers of warriors, on the whole there was little fighting, and, despite the glorification of heroic violence in the Islamic sources and bloodcurdling Muslim battle cries of "Kill! Kill! (أمت أمت!)"[191], there were actually very few or no deaths on many raids. Exchanges of arrows are routinely mentioned, and often heroically glamorized in the sources, even in "battles" that caused no fatalities. Many of the raids failed outright in their aim of taking camels or other animals, and of even reaching the enemy undetected. The failures included raids led by Muḥammad himself and by prominent companions.[192] For example, a raid under the illustrious 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, one of Muḥammad's closest companions and a future Amīr of the Believers after Muḥammad's death, failed to find the tribe they were supposed to be raiding (it had learned of the Muslims' approach and scattered in fear) and returned empty-handed to Medina.[193]

This is not to suggest that Muḥammad and his men were untalented raiders. The reason for their frequent failure to find the enemy where reports placed them stems from the very nomadic nature of tribal life in Arabia, where most of its peoples were constantly moving in search of better pastures for their herds or for the crucial water that sustained all life. Even if a spy, scout, or friendly Bedouin accurately reported the location and disposition of a group of herders, by the time he managed to get that information to the Muslims, and they assembled and dispatched a raiding party, the target group might have wandered to some other region, oblivious of the fact that they had been targeted. Even if they were still in the vicinity, it was very hard for a raiding party of any size to approach without detection. Pre-Islamic poetry is full of stories of clouds of dust giving away the approach of raiders.[194] Moving at night helped, but campfires were just as likely to give away the presence of raiders. Raiding caravans was no easier. Although the caravans moved along existing routes, there was no

way to predict exactly when they would pass a certain point. Raiders, who suffered hunger and exhaustion, were seldom able to wait longer than a day for a caravan, and catching up to a caravan that had already passed was ordinarily unlikely.

Although the sources sometimes refer to particular leaders sent by Muḥammad "conquering" other tribes or "taking control of their location," the objective of the raids was never to seize and occupy lands in a modern sense, but rather to secure the submission and obedience of the tribes through means that were recognizable to them. Indeed, the sources themselves reveal that the "conquests" meant only that the Muslims had scared away or scattered the locals who did not re-assemble to make pursuit as the Muslims made off with their camels and sheep.[195] This is apparently what a *ḥadīth* refers to when it quotes Muḥammad being proud of his ability to terrorize his enemies ("to strike fear [into them] from as far away as a month of journeying").[196] Al-Wāqidī notes that Muḥammad said, after driving away frightened enemies even before reaching them during a raid in Ghurān, "Surely this will reach the Quraysh and terrify them."[197]

That these Islamic raids were generally fairly bloodless affairs is clear. The sources tell us, as an example, that a particularly "fierce battle" occurred in May 630 during Qutba ibn Āmir ibn Hadīda's raid, ordered by Muḥammad, on a community from Khathʻam in the Tabāla region. Yet there were only twenty warriors in total, mounted on ten camels, so we need to keep in mind the small scale of such "battles".[198] We should also remember that a feature of these raids is the enormous, seemingly disproportionate, prestige attached to any demonstrated heroic deeds and noble qualities, which are ideal for weaving verbal spells in stories told around campfires. The earliest sources reveal, for example, that on the very second raid sent by Muḥammad, a mission involving sixty raiders which failed to take any booty, Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, already esteemed as one of the first converts to Islam, earned a hero's status by firing "the first arrow of Islam".[199] Based on reports by Saʻd's own descendants, al-Wāqidī has a lengthy eulogizing section devoted to Saʻd, who fired a quiver-full of arrows, twenty in total, and "he aimed no arrow except that he injured a person with it."[200] Ibn Hishām records the poems written by both sides; poems of almost Homeric boasting, full of wild exaggeration and glorification of manly virtues (i.e., "When we met them … with noble

steeds panting for the fray, and swords so white they might be salt-covered in the hands of warriors who are as dangerous as lions … they withdrew in great fear and awe").[201] Even Sa'd himself composed a self-congratulatory ode about the wonder of his archery. Muḥammad duly rewarded the new hero with leadership of the very next raid that he sent, a twenty-man raid on foot against a caravan likely to be passing by al-Kharrār.[202] No fighting occurred and no booty was taken on that raid either. The caravan had passed a day before the raiding party arrived.

Although small and light in casualties, these raids gave the Islamic polity invaluable martial experience and, when successful, increased prestige and authority. Even unsuccessful raids could produce positive results such as impressing local tribes about the manliness, seriousness and firmness of the Muslim community. On the very first raid led by Muḥammad himself, which was a failed attempt in August 623 to intercept a Meccan caravan in the vicinity of al-Abwā, Muḥammad and his sixty raiders nonetheless seem to have impressed the Banū Mudlij and Banū Ḍamra, local polytheistic clans of the Banū Bakr ibn 'Abd-Manāt ibn Kināna. With them he forged a formal agreement that henceforth neither side would raid each other or ally themselves with the other's foes.[203] Although they did not then convert, and may not even have been invited or instructed at that time to do so (the pact, recorded by Ibn Sa'd[204], is silent on any religious obligation[205]), their agreement bolstered Muḥammad's legitimacy, and their presence as an ally and source of information on the caravan route was certainly strategically useful. The Banū Ḍamra later loyally fought on Muḥammad's side during the campaigns of Mecca, Ḥunayn and Tabūk.[206] Likewise, shortly before the conquest of Mecca, when the Banū Khuzā'a, Muḥammad's allies, were attacked by the Banū Bakr, the Banū Mudlij refrained from taking part in this attack, thus remaining faithful to their original agreement with Muḥammad.[207] No wonder that Muḥammad saw the raids and the benefits he could acquire — which went far beyond just gaining the booty that the raiders craved — as an ideal apprenticeship in life skills and personal qualities for his young men, as a way of impressing and winning over local Bedouins, and as an ideal means of establishing his reputation and credibility throughout Arabia.

The sources are also clear that Muḥammad was, according to the rights of any *sayyid*, responsible for the distribution of any captured booty and for

making restitution for any violations of the rules.[208] To give one example, when Muḥammad learned of Khālid ibn al-Walīd's unlawful killing during a raid on the Banū Jadhīma of Kināna, he raised his hands to God and exclaimed, "O Allah I am innocent before You of what Khālid has done."[209] He then took out a loan[210] and sent ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib with the blood money (الدية, *diya*) to make restitution with the Banū Jadhīma, paying them *diya* and compensation for everything damaged, right down to a dog's bowl. The violation of the rules was so serious that ʻAlī actually compensated them excessively, something Muḥammad later commended.

Also like any other tribal leader, he was formally entitled by Arabic custom to a substantial source of income: one-fifth (خُمْس, *Khums*) of all income generated by campaigning.[211] This is actually less than the quarter that other Arab leaders customarily took, although poetry reveals that some other tribal leaders also only claimed a fifth.[212] This division occurred for the first time during the Nakhla raid in January 624, when the raid leader (and Muḥammad's brother-in-law), ʻAbdullāh ibn Jaḥsh ibn Riʻāb, apportioned the lucrative booty (the first ever taken by a Muslim force) among the nine (another source says twelve) raiders before the raiding party returned to Medina.[213] He announced that the fifth was for Muḥammad. A Qur'ānic revelation confirmed the correctness of the division.[214] Ibn Hishām notes that the division of spoils "thus remained on the basis of what ʻAbdullāh had done with the booty from that caravan."[215] Thereafter, Muḥammad personally took responsibility for the apportionment after raiding parties returned.

A typical description in the earliest sources of the way in which Muḥammad took his fifth and distributed the rest of the booty reads like this: They were gone for fifteen nights. They came with two hundred camels and a thousand sheep, as well as many prisoners. The Prophet s took his fifth. The warriors each received twelve camels. A camel was the equivalent of ten sheep.[216]

The Qur'ān is clear that this *Khums* was not only for Muḥammad's enrichment, but was for him and his family to live on and also, and especially, to devote as he saw best to demonstrating noble and chieftain-like largesse and to fighting poverty and inequality. *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:38 says: وَاعْلَمُواْ أَنَّمَا غَنِمْتُم مِّن شَيْءٍ فَأَنَّ لِلّهِ خُمُسَهُ وَلِلرَّسُولِ وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَى

وَالْيَتَامَى وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ إِن كُنتُمْ آمَنتُمْ بِاللّهِ وَمَا أَنزَلْنَا عَلَى عَبْدِنَا يَوْمَ الْفُرْقَانِ يَوْمَ الْتَقَى الْجَمْعَانِ وَاللّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ.

> 38. And know that whatever you take as gains of war, to Allah belongs one fifth, for the Messenger, and his kinsfolk, and for orphans, the poor, and the travellers. [Observe this] if you truly believe in Allah and what We sent down on our Servant on the day of judging; the day when the two forces met [at Badr]. Allah has power over everything.[217]

Here we see that Muḥammad was to take a fifth, and then to divide that fifth into five portions, with only one portion for him alone and the other four-fifths to go, as he saw best, to his relatives, to orphans, to the needy, and to travellers (who included warriors on raids). Muḥammad refused outright to take the *Khums*, however lucrative, if he considered the means of taking the booty was dishonorable according to the existing moral codes.[218] We know from the *aḥādīth* and the earliest extant biographical sources, especially Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d, that with all legitimate booty, he was impartial in the way he allocated the other four-fifths of any bounty generated by battle, giving participants and approved absentees (apparently something not done by anyone else in Arabia[219]) equal shares regardless of status or perceptions of strength or weakness. As he once explained, “I neither give to you, nor withhold from you, but I am merely a distributor and I allocate as I am obliged.”[220] The exception is the Battle of Ḥunayn, when he departed from his normal practice for specific reasons, which will be explained below. We also know that he never took more than his entitlement, and that — with the only exception being occasional acts of largesse such as making one-off rewards to warriors for distinguished service or to induce loyalty from other tribes, which he paid from his own fifth of the *Khums* — he steadfastly used the *Khums* for the purposes mentioned in the Qur’ān.[221] Sometimes from the *Khums* he actually chose not to take his entitlement (that is, the one-fifth of the one-fifth).[222] Demonstrating a chieftain’s largesse, he often used his own money for the community, rather than spending it on himself. We know, for example, that after the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr tribe from Medina, which resulted in the seizure of many of their possessions as his sole right (the expulsion did not come through battle so they were not regular spoils), Muḥammad spent the money on horses and weapons for his community’s

future raiding and he gave the Naḍīr's houses to those of the *Muhājirūn* who were still living with *Anṣār* hosts, to people of reputedly weak faith as a way of strengthening loyalty, and to some impoverished people.[223] Muḥammad also routinely took it upon himself to pay off the debts of Muslim warriors slain on raids or in battles.[224]

As a tribal leader, the Prophet was also entitled to take a *ṣāfiya* (صفايا), a high-prestige object from the spoils which he would choose for himself prior to the distribution of the overall booty into the *Khums* and the warriors' shares.[225] It could be a sword, chain mail shirt, horse or even a male or female slave.[226] At different times, Muḥammad took all of these as his *ṣāfiya*, with the most famous ṣ*afāyā* being the women Rayḥāna bint Zayd, taken as the "leader's share" after the siege of the Banū Qurayẓa, and Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy, taken after the siege of Khaybar.[227] The former became either a concubine or a wife (the sources are not agreed), and the latter certainly became a wife.

A fair-minded analysis of the earliest narrative sources throws up a major problem for those who still maintain that the Islamic raids to take booty were just and fair because Muḥammad restoratively intended to gain the financial equivalence of what Muslims had left behind when they migrated from Mecca to Medina. First, at the raid of Nakhla in January 624, around eighteen months after the *Hijra*, the Muslim raiders seized substantial wealth from a Quraysh caravan travelling between al-Ṭā'if (hereafter Ṭā'if) and Mecca, including camels, wine, leather products, raisins and two prisoners to ransom.[228] After a revelation allowing them to keep booty taken during Rajab, a month when the shedding of blood was forbidden, Muḥammad distributed the booty among the warriors and took his own fifth. Then, at the Battle of Badr two months later the Muslims acquired considerable wealth from the defeated foe. They seized camels (150 in number), horses (reportedly ten), and the possessions of the Quraysh's slain, captured and routed warriors. And they ransomed most of the seventy prisoners they had taken. The ransom came to many scores of thousands of dirhams, with numerous individuals alone costing 4,000 dirhams to ransom.[229] Almost immediately after this, Muḥammad dispossessed and expelled from Medina the Jews of Banū Qaynuqā', for reasons that are not fully or adequately explained, and appear to have seized their houses as

well as the possessions, including valuable metal forges and armor and weapons (including as many as 400 coats of armor), which the Qaynuqā‘ could not or were not permitted to carry away.[230] Their houses were most likely distributed as booty among the participants, with Muḥammad’s own fifth probably going to some of the Muslims who had migrated from Mecca to Medina, many of whom had been living until then in constrained circumstances with Medinan sponsors.[231] All this would thus logically mean that, by the time of the aftermath of Badr, which had greatly enhanced the prestige of Muḥammad and his new community, something equitably approaching the restoration of lost wealth — both symbolically and materially — had been accomplished.

Indeed, shortly after the *Hijra*, Muḥammad had himself become the owner of an orchard called al-Ḥashāshīn and a large plot of land in Zuhra (a village or town within the Medina oasis mainly inhabited by the Jewish clan Tha‘laba ibn al-Fiṭyawn).[232] In addition, the *Anṣār* bestowed upon him every piece of unirrigated land in northern Medina (“لما قدم المدينة جعلواله كل أرض لا يبلفها الماء”) and a free hand concerning it.[233] By means not explained, he was also soon thereafter in a position to bestow land in Yanbu‘ as an example of his chieftain-like largesse.[234] Sometime later, Muḥammad also owned land in al-Jurf in the Wādī al-‘Aqīq northwest of Medina.[235] After the Battle of Uḥud in 625, he inherited bounteous orchards from a supportive Rabbi named Mukhayrīq, who died as a martyr fighting on Muḥammad’s side.[236] He was able to use this significant inheritance, which he designated as a *ḥabs* (حَبْس), a type of inalienable endowment now called a *waqf*, to support any hard-pressed *Muhājirūn* and to serve as the basis of provision for any needy Muslims.[237] Other prominent companions, including ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, received or purchased orchards and fields and donated them for the same charitable purpose.[238] Yet even after this, by which time Muḥammad’s wider community’s prosperity had also increased substantially, and the poor gained provision through this form of support, he continued to undertake or send out raids every month or two for many years to come, taking as much booty as possible on every successful raid.

And the raids were not always or even regularly against the Quraysh tribe which had earlier driven them to leave Mecca. One cannot see any

restorative or retributive justice in raiding other groups which were not responsible for the earlier dispossession. Moreover, once the *Anṣār* began to join the *Muhājirūn* on raids (from Badr onwards[239]), one cannot hold to the view that those who had had suffered financial disadvantage were just trying to offset their losses. The *Anṣār* had not been wronged. They therefore had no claim upon the Quraysh.

The earliest sources are routinely as vague about the *overarching* motive of the post-Badr raids as they are about those which preceded it. With individual raids we can form a clearer opinion. Some were described as reconnaissance and spying missions[240]; others were to avenge losses in previous encounters[241]; others seem to have been shows of force designed to coerce the Quraysh's or a beaten Jewish tribe's allies into changing sides or at least into not taking the risk of attacking the Islamic community or raiding its herds.[242] We even have records of raids that were designed to encourage stubborn or vacillating tribes or tribesmen into accepting Islam, or, if they would not, at least into reaching a beneficial agreement with the Islamic polity.[243] At least one, and there may have been others, was not classified as "a mission of war, but an invitation to Islam".[244] This claimed motivation also became more common in later sources, beginning at around the time of al-Ṭabarī. Yet for many raids no motive at all is presented.

Clearly the ever reflective and insightful Muḥammad did not send out all these raids without some sense of strategic purpose, and as a pattern the raids served to restrict severely the Quraysh's trade, limit its supplies of food, acquire wealth for the Islamic community, increase prestige, strengthen Islamic tribal alliances with Bedouin and other tribes, and weaken the Quraysh's alliances. Al-Wāqidī notes that, within three years of the *Hijra*, the Quraysh were feeling the economic and prestige effects of the raids and complaining that "Muḥammad and his companions have made our trading difficult."[245] It would be unreasonable not to see these outcomes as intended.[246]

That does not mean that the very many post-Badr raids — even those reportedly involving a call to Islam as the sources say some did right before the attempted taking of herds[247] — were unlike the booty-seeking very first raids. Far from representing "new tactics," as Adil Salahi mistakenly claims[248], they were extremely similar to the first Islamic raids and, more importantly, to the customary Bedouin raids occurring all over the place at

that time. The big change was that Muḥammad alone initiated raids, whereas in other Arab groups, raids could be initiated by any number of community leaders, with a freedom and spontaneity that Muḥammad never let anyone else have. Aside from that, and the fact that Muḥammad lived in a settled context yet waged war like the unsettled peoples, the raids were remarkably similar. They were routinely for booty even if there were accompanying strategic and spiritual rewards. Al-Wāqidī chronicles Muḥammad's dispatch in February 629 of Bashīr ibn Sa'd and 300 warriors to al-Jināb, where they were to confront a group of the Ghaṭafān tribe which was reportedly preparing to march against the Muslims. When they arrived in the vicinity, Bashīr's raiding party came across a herd of camels and discussed among themselves whether to appropriate the herd, which would mean they could not thereafter move with speed or surprise, or whether to continue immediately against the enemy as they had been tasked, without taking the herds. Using their initiative and placing booty ahead of other concerns, they took the camels, along with two prisoners, who converted and were freed by Muḥammad.[249] If there really was a Ghaṭafān force, it had withdrawn upon receiving news of Bashīr's advance, and scouts found no trace of them, so, as it happened, two desirable outcomes occurred: one planned (the prevention of aggression) and the other unplanned but highly desired (the taking of booty).

Muḥammad understood that the people around him loved booty (indeed, many craved it), and, although he naturally preferred people to embrace Islam without pursuing rewards for doing so, he saw the acquisition of booty as an inducement for them to convert. He reasoned that, once inside the fold of Islam, God's word would transform them. When Khubayb ibn Yasāf, a great non-Muslim warrior, told Muḥammad that he and his people would join the raid that led to the Battle of Badr in order "to get booty," Muḥammad said that accepting Islam would be a prerequisite to fighting for booty.[250] Khubayb replied that his reputation as a warrior should be enough, and that "I will fight with you for booty, but I will not convert." Muḥammad replied again that conversion must precede fighting for booty. Although Khubayb refused again, he eventually changed his mind, and, as al-Wāqidī says, "he proved invaluable in Badr and out of it." [251]

The earliest narrative sources, to illustrate further the point that raids were for both strategic and spiritual rewards *and* booty, say that sometimes when

reports came in of a certain tribal group being “inattentive” (غِرَّة) about protecting their grazing herds, Muḥammad sought to exploit those opportunities by quickly sending out raids.[252] A literary *topos* in the sources (in al-Wāqidī especially, but seldom in Ibn Hishām) presents these wandering tribal groups and their herds as “gathering,” implying that they were war parties intending to attack Medina imminently, rather than water- and pasture-seeking groups moving across countryside according to Nomadic seasonal norms.[253] One should not imagine, of course, that they would not attempt to plunder lightly guarded or unprotected Islamic herds (they would, and did), but that is different from the implication that they were gathering in order to seek Muḥammad’s or Islam’s destruction via significant battle. In almost all cases, when the Muslims arrived in the region, they found herds and herdsmen but no war bands. But the implication of aggressive and harmful intention has been placed in the readers’ minds.

The sources tell us, for example, of raids, such as against the Banū Sulaym and Ghaṭafān in July 624, sent by the Prophet after hearing reports that droughts had prompted certain tribes or clans to gather in nearby regions, apparently to water their herds according to seasonal norms.[254] The fact that they were escorting large herds to water logically means that the tribes were probably not themselves on campaigns likely to cause an existential threat to Medina, but they were possibly encroaching on lands controlled by Medina and, in any event, they made a perfect target. By the time the 200 Islamic raiders arrived in the territory, however, no enemy warriors could be found. The Muslims nonetheless raided and seized herds attended to only by herders. In that particular case, without killing anyone, they took five hundred camels, one hundred of which went to Muḥammad, who apportioned the rest among the raiders, who got two camels each.[255] Two months later, in September 624, Muḥammad led another raid against the Ghaṭafān after hearing that they had moved herds for watering. Despite his force of 450 warriors’ stealthy approach, the Bedouins and their herds had dispersed among rocky peaks and could not be located.[256] Two months later, in October and November 624, after learning that the Banū Sulaym had moved to Buḥrān, the Prophet led a swift and stealthy raid against them. Once again, the tribe and its camels were nowhere to be found. He

had more luck a few days after he returned home.[257] He learned of a Quraysh caravan taking an inland route to Syria, rather than going close to Medina on the seaward side, where local tribes were already allied with Muḥammad. Although this took the caravan through dry and unhospitable deserts and mountain plateaus, which they thought would deter Muḥammad's inexperienced people, it was winter and water was not scarce. Muḥammad sent his adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha with one hundred men "to take their caravan."[258] This netted the raiders the value of one hundred thousand dirhams, of which Muḥammad claimed a fifth.[259]

This is apparently what Muḥammad meant when he said: "Allah has ordained that my livelihood is from under the shadow of my spear."[260] He similarly said in another *ḥadīth* that the subsistence of his community had been put "under the hoofs of horses and the iron feet of the spears," but only so long as they stayed away from agricultural activity.[261] After all, he was, as he said, "sent with the message of Jihād, not of agriculture."[262] By this, he meant he felt compelled to struggle for the spread of monotheism, and expected the same from his people, rather than to accept the ease and complacency that came from a less active agrarian life. Rewards for this struggle were certainly not shameful. Later, during the campaign to Tabūk, he told his followers around a campfire that he was unique among prophets in that Allah "has released booty to me for my use".[263]

Another difficulty for those writers who attribute a purely religious motive to all these Islamic raids — meaning that they were a form of *da'wah* (دعوة), or religious invitation — is that the raids clearly involved tremendous secrecy and stealth so that the raiders could fall upon the opposite tribesmen and herdsmen so suddenly in an ambush that they could catch them unawares, pelting them with arrows, so that they could abscond with the camels and sheep. Halting in front of the opponents and revealing their presence in order to call them to Islam, or to agree a political truce in return for submitting to Muḥammad's leadership, is certainly not a routine feature of the earliest narrative sources, which talk of "Muḥammad and his companions lying in wait" for caravans or herds to ambush.[264] For instance, in June 625 Muḥammad heard from an informer that Bedouins who had moved close to Medina to water their herds were also likely to raid Medinan herds. He immediately told Abū Salama ibn 'Abd al-Asad to lead

150 warriors on a pre-emptive surprise attack against the would-be raiders while they watered their herds “and to attack them before they can assemble and confront you.”[265] Abū Salama was not able to catch the tribesmen unawares. They had already dispersed. But he sent out scouting parties “in search of the camels and sheep” and, after locating them, duly succeeded in delivering them back to Medina. Similarly, al-Wāqidī’s description of the July 629 raid of Shujā‘ ibn Wahb and twenty-four warriors on a cluster of the Hawāzin Bedouins in al-Siyy is both typical and revealing: The Messenger of Allah s commanded Shujā‘ to attack them, so he set out. He marched by night and hid by day until he attacked them one morning when they were inattentive. … They captured many camels and sheep. They drove them all back to Medina. Their portions were fifteen camels for every man. A camel was equal to ten sheep. The expedition lasted fifteen days.[266] Likewise:

> [In May 630] the Messenger of Allah s sent out Qutba ibn Āmir ibn Hadīda with twenty men to a community from Khath‘am in the region of Tabāla. He commanded him to attack them, to march by night and hide by day, and to march with all haste. They set out on ten camels riding one behind the other, with their weapons hidden … One of them set out as a scout and found a herd of camels and sheep. He returned to his companions and told them. They came crawling, fearing the sentries, until they reached the settlement, where they [the opponents] slept and were quiet. Then they shouted *takbīr* [“Allāhu Akbar!”] and attacked. The defenders came out to meet them. They fought a fierce battle. … Qutba conquered the people of the settlement, and drove the camels and sheep and women to Medina.[267]

The early narrative sources show that Muḥammad himself regularly used this surprise-based hunt-and-pounce tactic during the raids that he personally led and even on some of the larger and more structured campaigns, where he advanced secretly and attacked without warning (and without a formal call to Islam). When his force fell upon the town of Khaybar early one morning in May 628, the panicked citizens, caught unawares in the fields, cried out: “Muḥammad and the forces!” (محمد والخميس).[268] *Aḥādīth* also attest to the fact that Muḥammad sometimes

succeeded with his surprise attacks, catching people unprepared and fighting them before any call for Islam could be made and a negotiation about that call could be attempted. For example: The Prophet s suddenly attacked the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq [in January 627] while they were inattentive and their herds were watering at their watering grounds. Their fighting men were killed and their women and children were taken as captives.[269]

Regarding this mission, al-Wāqidī mentions in a single sentence that Muḥammad instructed ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb to tell the startled Banū al-Muṣṭaliq to confess that “there is no God but Allah,” which would save their lives and wealth, a call that they refused.[270] There was no further call, and no negotiation, according to al-Wāqidī. Ibn Hishām, who states (in archaic phraseology no longer used by Muslims) that “Allah killed some of them and gave the Messenger their wives, children and property as booty,” makes no mention of any call to Islam.[271] Neither does Ibn Sa‘d.[272] No *aḥādīth* in the six canonical collections mention a call to Islam either. The Muslims’ war-cry that day was, “O victorious, kill!”[273]

Muḥammad seized vast booty, including two hundred families (including women and children, all of whom were released after either ransom or Muḥammad’s skilful decision to marry one of the women, thus joining many prisoners to himself as kin), 2,000 camels and 5,000 sheep, as well as a huge quantity of household goods. The latter were sold in an auction to the highest bidders.[274] The Banū al-Muṣṭaliq duly accepted Islam.

The fact that a call to Islam did not always or even ordinarily precede the moment of ambush or confrontation does not mean that the Muslims were uninterested in Allah’s blessings. On the contrary, as noted above, they clearly saw their raids as righteous activities that were divinely supported. Indeed, God directly contributed. About the raid on the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq mentioned immediately above, al-Ṭabarī, like Ibn Hishām, wrote that “Allah defeated the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and killed some of them. Allah gave their children, women and possessions to the Messenger of Allah as booty. Allah gave them to him as spoils.”[275]

Mas‘ūd ibn Hunayda recalled that, after Muḥammad told him to “stay with us until we meet our enemy, for indeed I hope that Allah will give us their wealth as booty,” he “accompanied the Messenger of Allah when Allah plundered their wealth and their children.”[276] This obviously echoes what Qur’ān says in *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:17 about the Battle of Badr: “You did

not kill them, but Allah killed them, and when you threw, it is not you who threw, but Allah" (فَلَمْ تَقْتُلُوهُمْ وَلَـكِنَّ اللّهَ قَتَلَهُمْ وَمَا رَمَيْتَ إِذْ رَمَيْتَ وَلَـكِنَّ اللّهَ رَمَى).

Robert Hoyland succinctly summarizes the complex relationship between fighting and faith: Since God was sanctioning the fighting and the acquisition of booty, there is no need to debate whether Muḥammad's west Arabian soldiers fought more for gain or for God — the two were inseparable. They were also mutually reinforcing: the gains won by fighting for God made His warriors more desirous to serve Him in war and worship.[277]

This did not apply only to small-scale raiding, but also to major campaigning. Khaybar is a revealing case in terms of the complex relationship between the pursuit of booty, which was a powerful and perfectly acceptable incentive to undertake raids and campaigns, and the expected desire that those missions should simultaneously serve God's higher purposes. Al-Diyārbakrī says that, when Muḥammad decided to attack Khaybar in May 628, he told his followers that Allah had guaranteed the oasis town to him and that "Allah has promised you great spoils of war for you to take." Yet, he also advised that no-one should go forth with him "except that he desired to struggle [do Jihād] and was not after the width of the *Dunyā* [that is, all the non-spiritual things of the world]."[278]

Raiding as Jihād Before this analysis moves on to other issues, it is worth investigating Muḥammad's and his embryonic community's depiction of the raids as an exertion or struggle (الجهاد, *al-Jihād*) in Allah's cause.[279] The Qur'ān and the *aḥādīth* clearly refer to the raids as Jihād in the cause of Allah. A well-known *ḥadīth* reportedly dating to the period immediately after the opening of Mecca in 630 CE quotes Muḥammad as having said: "There is no migration [to Medina anymore] but Jihād with the right intention, so if you are asked to go forth you should do so." [280] That "going forth" refers to raiding is clear from many other *aḥādīth*, such as the *ḥadīth* which quotes Muḥammad saying: "We went on a raid with the

Prophet s **and the people spread out so much [meaning with their tents] that they encroached upon the road, so the Prophet of Allah** s **sent a man to announce to the people, 'Those who spread out too much and who narrow the road will not be credited with the Jihād.'"**[281]

So, what exactly was the Jihād; the "struggle"? Was it the actuality or potentiality of fighting; that is, the combat itself? Was it the act of killing in Allah's cause? Or was it the hardship and physical denial involved in the raiding process itself? One must immediately dismiss the notion that killing was the heart of Jihād. As noted above, very many of the raids involved no armed engagements and, even among those that did, there was often no killing because of the "rules" governing violence. Yet the participants on those raids were credited for their struggle — and were entitled to a fair share of any booty taken. Al-Wāqidī reports that Muḥammad exhorted followers to undertake both "fighting *and* Jihād" (القتال والجهاد[282], meaning that they are interrelated but different, and this indeed seems to be the best way of seeing Jihad. It was the relentless effort needed to create the better future that Muḥammad foresaw for his community. It was the exertion and struggle involved in marching out against the peoples to be raided and, if they resisted, to be fought. Although the Qur'ān reveals that there is an inner spiritual struggle that also warrants the term Jihād, the physical exertion and struggle (ordinarily manifest in raiding and campaigning) became the commonly understood meaning.

Al-Wāqidī actually reveals that when raiding started, not all the Muslims liked it: "Many of Prophet's companions held him back. They hated him going out raiding, and there was a lot of disagreement about it."[283] Regarding this disinclination, the Qur'ān observes in *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:216 that, "Fighting has been prescribed for you although you dislike it, but perhaps you dislike a thing that is good for you, and perhaps you love a thing that is bad for you, and Allah knows what you do not know."[284]

With no success at all on the very first raids, the likelihood of gaining booty did not seem worth all the exhaustion and acute hardship, and raiding, of course, was probably a new and unpleasant experience for many of the emigrants who had left Mecca. On at least one of the earliest raids the lack of food compelled them to fight their starvation by eating a certain

desert shrub.[285]

Al-Wāqidī adds that many responded differently, however, when they heard that a rich Meccan caravan led by the chief Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb would soon pass Medina going southward on the coastal road, and that Muḥammad had said that Allah "might give it to you as plunder."[286] Al-Wāqidī reports that the alure and probability of booty caused a rush to volunteer, with "some men even being prepared to draw lots against their fathers" in the hope of going.[287] The caravan actually made it past Muḥammad's raiding party, but the Quraysh force sent from Mecca to escort it past Medina and the Muslim raiding party clashed at Badr, where the Muslims won a stunning victory that not only bestowed plenty of booty and prisoners to ransom, but also tremendous personal prestige for Muḥammad and every participant. The reluctance to strive for Allah on raids abated for a time, and people embraced the struggle, but it returned after the Muslims' defeat at Uḥud in March 625, a year after Badr, when seventy Muslims perished in battle. This defeat lessened Muḥammad's prestige for a while among local Bedouin tribes, some of whom, four months later in July 625, made the mood worse by deceiving and killing over seventy Muslim missionaries in separate atrocities at Bi'r Ma'ūna and al-Rajī'.[288] This caused grave communal anxiety, creating a period of reluctance and fear that prompted Qur'ānic passages such as *Sūrah al-'Imrān* 3:156: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ لاَ تَكُونُواْ كَالَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ وَقَالُواْ لإِخْوَانِهِمْ إِذَا ضَرَبُواْ فِي الأَرْضِ أَوْ كَانُواْ غُزًّى لَّوْ كَانُواْ عِندَنَا مَا مَاتُواْ وَمَا قُتِلُواْ لِيَجْعَلَ اللّهُ ذَلِكَ حَسْرَةً فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ وَاللّهُ يُحْيِـي وَيُمِيتُ وَاللّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرٌ

> 156. O you who believe! Do not be like those who disbelieve and say of their brothers [who died] while travelling the earth or while out raiding, "Had they stayed [back] with us, they would not have died or been killed." Allah will put regret in their hearts. Allah gives life and causes to die; and Allah sees all that you do.

Teenagers are different to their elders. The earliest narrative sources show that, as was common with Bedouin raiding through most of the last 1,400 years or more — when boys and young men yearn for the time when they will be, as something of a rite of passage, allowed to accompany their elders on raids and so win their spurs — this was equally true for Muḥammad's time. Al-Wāqidī tell us of a Muslim from the Banū Salama informing

Muḥammad that his clan, which had raided the nearby Banū Husayka (both in the Medina oasis), had to prevent its eager youngsters from taking up arms.[289] Muḥammad faced the same challenge with his own raids. For example, sixteen-year-old ‘Umayr ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was so desperate to join the raids that, before the attempted caravan raid that led to the unforeseen Battle of Badr, he wept with sadness when Muḥammad initially rejected him. His zeal moved Muḥammad, who relented.[290] ‘Umayr died in the battle.

‘Umayr was not alone in his youthful desire to go raiding or campaigning. Before the Battle of Uḥud, Muḥammad once again screened out all volunteers younger than fifteen, allowing only two boys aged fifteen to fight in the battle after watching them wrestle each other to prove their strength and resolve.[291] One fourteen-year-old boy, Ibn ‘Umar, pleaded to fight. Muḥammad rejected his request, only letting him serve a year later during the Battle of the Trench, by which time he was fifteen.[292]

Muḥammad was very fond of Usāma ibn Zayd, the son of his adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, and for many years used to have Usāma ride behind him on his donkey.[293] Muḥammad even let Usāma enter the Ka‘ba (Mecca’s ancient shrine) with him, which was a rare privilege.[294] When he was fifteen, Usāma fought in his first raid, a thirty-man mission against the Banū Murra in Fadak in December 628, where he wrongly killed an enemy fighter who had uttered the Islamic confession of faith (which ordinarily would have saved his life).[295] Usāma was chastised by Bashīr ibn Sa‘d, his raid leader, and later by the Prophet. Nonetheless, when Usāma was nineteen, Muḥammad advised him that he wanted to send him north as leader of a major raid to avenge his father Zayd’s death. This offended many of the older warriors and caused Muḥammad publicly to put his foot down. Usāma was ready and, indeed, he was suited to that mission.[296]

The zeal of youngsters does not mean that it became easy to recruit other volunteers for the exhausting and difficult raids, and the Qur’ān, the earliest narrative sources, and the later *aḥādīth* all suggest that a quietest minority around the Prophet felt reluctant to fight for the new religion. These sources explicitly refer to those who “sat at home” when they should have “exerted themselves” (وَجَاهَدُوا, *wajāhidū*, “undertaken Jihād”). The Qur’ān describes the shirkers as being “sick of heart,” unwilling to be

inconvenienced by long journeys or heat, keen to stay home with their wives, or reluctant to contribute financially to the cost of raids despite their wealth. This was necessary because there was not yet a centralised provision of rations, armor and weapons, which raiders or tribal sponsors themselves had to provide. The Qur'ān even says that some shirkers were cowardly and fearful of defeat.[297]

The Qur'ān likewise praised those who chose to join the raids, recognising them as being both superior to those who evaded service and worthy of every material and spiritual reward. *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:95 says, for example: لاَّ يَسْتَوِي الْقَاعِدُونَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ غَيْرُ أُوْلِي الضَّرَرِ وَالْمُجَاهِدُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنفُسِهِمْ فَضَّلَ اللّهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ بِأَمْوَالِهِمْ وَأَنفُسِهِمْ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ دَرَجَةً وَكُلاًّ وَعَدَ اللّهُ الْحُسْنَى وَفَضَّلَ اللّهُ الْمُجَاهِدِينَ عَلَى الْقَاعِدِينَ أَجْراً عَظِيماً دَرَجَاتٍ مِّنْهُ وَمَغْفِرَةً وَرَحْمَةً وَكَانَ اللّهُ غَفُوراً رَّحِيماً

> 95. There is no equality between those of the believers who sit back, other than those who have a disability, and those who strive in Allah's way with their wealth and their lives; Allah prefers and ranks highly those who strive with their wealth and their lives over those who sit back, and to all of them Allah has promised good, [yet] Allah shall grant to those who struggle, above those who sit back, a mighty reward and forgiveness and mercy. And Allah is forgiving and merciful.[298]

And struggle the Muslim raiders certainly did. Raiding in spring or winter was definitely preferred, meaning that water was ordinarily plentiful.[299] Yet participants were almost constantly dehydrated when raiding in or passing through waterless regions during dry months[300] and they could not always exploit the Arab customary requirement to give water to anyone who thirsted because if they revealed themselves to the wrong shepherds or travellers, those people would likely give a warning to the tribe upon which the Muslims were attempting to sneak up. Even during winter, when water was not an issue, raiding involved an obvious hardship: it was bitterly cold.[301] One might imagine this could be easily offset by building campfires, but this was not possible once they entered the territory of the party to be raided. The light from campfires would be seen at night or the smoke would be seen during the day[302], thus revealing their positions and ruining their efforts to sneak forward.[303]

Sometimes the raiders did not each have a camel to ride, and would take

turns to walk while another rode, before rotating again, or if they could, they would cram several riders onto each camel. Even Muḥammad, at least in the very early days of raiding, experienced this hardship. When he led a force of slightly over three hundred warriors to Badr in search of a caravan in March 624, they had only seventy camels between them. Three or four men therefore rode cramped on each camel.[304] Muḥammad was acutely aware of how poorly provisioned they were, praying: "O Allah, surely they are barefooted, so provide them with camels to ride on; and virtually naked, so clothe them; and hungry, so feed them; and dependent, so provide for them by Your grace."[305] Muḥammad asked for no preferential treatment, even though no one would have begrudged him the right to ride alone, and he uncomfortably shared his camel with ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Zayd ibn Ḥāritha (some sources say Marthad ibn Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī[306]).[307] When his companions asked him to remain on the camel, rather than take his turn walking, Muḥammad replied that he wanted Allah's blessing for struggling as much as they did.[308]

Aḥādīth record that on some raids, things were really difficult. For example: Abū Mūsā said, "We went on a raid with the Prophet s and we were six persons having one camel which we rode in rotation. Our feet therefore became skinned, and my own feet became thin and my toenails broke off, and we used to wrap our feet with strips of cloth, and for this reason, the raid was named *Dhāt al-Riqāʻ* as we wrapped our feet with rags."[309]

Each man had to provide and then carry his own weapons ("upon his neck," using the language of the early sources[310]), which were commonly long thrusting spears and bows and arrows and sometimes swords. Coats of chain mail and metal helmets were desired for protection, but were costly. Raiding was thus an expensive business for raiders, perhaps not so much on the smaller ambushes of caravans and herds but certainly on larger and more structured missions where substantial fighting might be anticipated. Some would-be raiders owned no weapons, and the sources even show that some appealed directly to Muḥammad.[311] He duly gave the money, and sometimes issued a general appeal for others to donate provisions to those who had nothing.[312] Consequently, many wealthy Muslims ("striving in Allah's way with their wealth," to quote the Qur'ān[313]) gave or loaned weapons to those who could not afford them. Regarding the large and

formal campaign against Tabūk in 630 CE, al-Wāqidī says that “the wealthy desired goodness and wellbeing, and considered their wellbeing in the afterlife. They strengthened those among them who were weak, until indeed a man would bring a camel to another man or two, saying ‘take turns on this camel between you.’”[314] We should not imagine that only Muslims used arrangements like this, with the rich donating weapons and provisions to poor volunteers. It was apparently common throughout the Ḥijāz. Even the settled Quraysh tribe — whose older and more complacent people were equally loathe to exert themselves on campaigns[315] — encouraged richer member to support poorer members when they sent them out to fight.[316] Yet with the Muslims this type of sponsorship brought spiritual rewards. There are many *aḥādīth* praising and promising God’s blessings to donators of weapons and armor, and to other Muslims who looked after the raiders’ families while they were away. Conversely, The Prophet ﷺ said: “He who does not go out raiding, or equip a raider, or look after a raider’s family when he is away, will be smitten by Allah with a sudden calamity.”[317]

Unless raiders were fortunate on a particular raid to have riding or pack camels, they also had to carry their own provisions.[318] This included their own food — such as wheat, barley, flour and dates[319] — but this frequently ran out even before reaching the people to be raided.[320] If they could do so without risking their presence to opponents, they would sometimes buy milk or even desert creatures including lizards from Bedouins whom they passed, especially in regions where the Bedouins were allied to Muḥammad, or at least not hostile.[321] If they were fortunate, they might find food while foraging, such as birds or ostrich eggs, or even on rare occasions they might spot a gazelle or a wild donkey (but not a domesticated one, which was prohibited), which they were allowed to hunt.[322] Yet sometimes they were so hungry from lack of provisions that they attempted to eat the thorny fodder of their pack camels, which tore their lips and provided no nourishment.[323] Other times they were forced to eat locusts.[324] Even Muḥammad himself is known to have run out of food while out on missions, and even to have eaten locusts.[325] Only on highly rare occasions — such as during Muḥammad’s raid on al-Ghāba in August 627, when Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubāda sent dates and camels for slaughtering — did anyone in Medina, on their own initiative, send food after the raiders who had already set off on a mission.[326]

Of course, the earliest narrative sources and even some of the later *aḥādīth* are heroic in nature and, like the pre-Islamic poetry, provide lengthy and poetically embellished accounts of the plight of the longsuffering warriors. Long passages detail their tenacity, skill at negotiating trade or barter with any local Bedouins who had any food, their ability to survive on nothing, and other manly virtues. There is even a colourful account of a starving 300-man raiding party led by Abū ‘Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ in November 629, which had been reduced to sucking a single date each per day (“We sucked that all day just as a baby would suck,” and some accounts say they even resorted to eating boiled leaves that they beat down from tree branches[327]). They then fell upon a whale carcass that they discovered washed up on a beach, and ate the carcass for twelve days.[328] A *ḥadīth* vividly describing the eating of the whale carcass records that the previously starving Muslim warriors sat within its eye-socket, rode camels beneath its ribs and ate so much they became fat.[329] Of course, should a raiding party capture camels or other animals, which certainly did not always happen, they could slaughter enough to stay fed during the return journey, after which Muḥammad would divide up the remaining animals and distribute them as booty.

No wonder that this exhausting and difficult struggle, or Jihād, was considered both a duty and a cardinal way to earn both temporal and spiritual reward. It was really tough. It was so tough, in fact, that whenever Muḥammad returned from raids he prayed a lengthy prayer that included the line: “O Allah, we ask protection from the hardship of travelling”.[330] He certainly never sought to avoid this hardship. Understanding that followership is strongest when the leader is seen to be sharing the same hardships, privations, risks and dangers as his followers, Muḥammad exhausted himself physically among his people, ate what they ate, journeyed how they did, slept rough while on campaigns, and fought in their midst. He shared the same risk that at any moment his life, which he committed into God’s hands in fervent prayers, could be extinguished.

Thus, we can see the raiding missions as a gruelling and taxing means of developing and demonstrating commitment, tenacity and endurance, which were socially extolled qualities not only within traditional Bedouin raiding, as poetry shows, but also within the new Islamically-tinted version, the Jihād. The raids truly were “a struggle,” “an exertion”.

Perhaps the greatest struggle during raiding was the overcoming of fear, and courage was the most praised masculine trait in the pre-Islamic and ethnographic accounts of raiding. Islam did bring certain modifications to the Bedouin tribal values — such as abandonment of incessant feuding, submission to centralised authority, and acceptance of a commonly defined monotheism in place of the tribesmen's traditional defence of the gods and the tribes' religious customs — and the Qur'ān repeatedly stressed the need for "patience" (صَبْرٌ, *sabr*) when engaged in martial matters. The relevant verses presumably mean that Muslims should overcome their blinding passions[331] and refrain from the needless displays of savage and reckless ferocity that earned Arab warriors their grand reputations.[332] Yet Islam certainly never challenged the Bedouin code of honour that required courage and condemned cowardice. Indeed, the Jihād required the exact same type of courage: a man's willingness to close upon a dangerous foe who had the ability to take his life and to fight that foe with heroic skill and without visible fear. Raiding was a very casualty-light business in which stealthy and cunning ambushes were greatly preferred over pitched battles in which both sides "lined up in rows"; battles ordinarily avoided in both Bedouin warfare and the Jihād. Yet mortal combat did occur and warriors sometimes had to kill or be killed.

Humans fear death, and Muslim warriors, like their opponents, were not exempt from this fear.[333] The earliest narrative sources speak often of their dread. When marching forward towards Badr, after hearing that the Quraysh force was somewhere near, the Muslim raiders were "alarmed and frightened".[334] Then, when Muḥammad lined up his men at Badr, one man complained that he had pricked him with an arrowhead. Offering retaliation, Muḥammad was surprised when that man instead embraced and kissed him. When Muḥammad enquired why, he admitted that fear of the battle had gripped him and he hoped it would be the last time he went out on a raid.[335] Indeed, the sources show that fear became more widespread when attempted raids were challenged by strong opponents who wanted to stand and fight. During the raid on Dhāt al-Riqā‘ in June 626, Muḥammad and his raiding party found themselves exposed beneath Bedouins who were watching them from rocky heights. Fearful because of their disadvantageous position, the Muslim raiders were frightened of attack if

they showed the slightest inattention.[336] The Bedouins were reportedly just as frighted; Ibn Hishām notes that "no fighting occurred, for each side feared the other."[337] Muḥammad offered the "Fear Prayer" (صلاة الخوف, *Salah al-Khawf*) for the safety of his scared raiding party, with half of his force remaining vigilant facing the enemy while the other half joined him in prayer.[338] This special prayer is even mentioned in the Qur'ān.[339] He also told them on another occasion what they should pray when terror fell upon them (when "their hearts were in their mouths") during an engagement.[340]

Some Muslim writers have found it difficult to attribute fear ever to Muḥammad himself, yet the earliest sources reveal that Muḥammad, who possessed the full range of human emotions, became frightened at times. Ibn Hishām writes, for example, that during the Battle of the Trench, "the Messenger and his companions remained in fear"[341]), yet he managed to draw upon profound faith to hold that fear in check. Al-Wāqidī states that, at the Battle of Badr, when Muḥammad saw the vastly stronger enemy force drawing nearer, he became "fearful" (ففزع, which could also mean "shocked") in the privacy of his hastily erected shade hut. He raised his hands and implored God to fulfil his promises.[342] Ibn Hishām does not mention fear or shock in his own account, but notes that Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, Muḥammad's closest companion, took his hand and advised him to cease his fretful prayers, lest he convey anxiety to the God who had promised him success.[343] The event is also later recorded in many *aḥādīth*, with Abū Bakr's calming gesture present in most, although again no shock or fear is mentioned.[344] This might be because, even if the very mortal Muḥammad was fearful, he immediately steeled his nerve and soon thereafter powerfully exhorted his warriors to fight by advancing, not retreating, in the certainty that if anyone fell, he would enter Paradise.[345] A *ḥadīth* states: When the Prophet ﷺ felt fearful of an enemy, he used to pray: "*Allahumma inna naj'aluka fi nuhurihim, wa na'udhu bika min shururihim"* ("O Allah! We put You in front of them, and we seek refuge in You from their evils").[346]

Muḥammad's insistence that only determination and firmness in the face of fear were capable of bringing victory is also found in *aḥādīth* which quote him stating that "deserting the march" during a raid or "fleeing from the battlefield" are among the very worst human acts.[347] *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:15-

16 of the Qur’ān likewise exhorts believers to be courageous and steadfast: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ إِذَا لَقِيتُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ زَحْفاً فَلاَ تُوَلُّوهُمُ الأَدْبَارَ.
وَمَن يُوَلِّهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ دُبُرَهُ إِلاَّ مُتَحَرِّفاً لِّقِتَالٍ أَوْ مُتَحَيِّزاً إِلَى فِئَةٍ فَقَدْ بَاء بِغَضَبٍ مِّنَ اللّهِ وَمَأْوَاهُ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ.

15. O you who believe, when you meet the unbelievers advancing, never turn your backs on them.

16. If anyone turns his back, unless it is as a strategy of war, or to join a different group [of warriors], then he has earned the wrath of Allah and his abode is hell, a wretched place.[348]

Courage is not fearlessness; rather, it is overcoming the natural human urge for self-preservation and ignoring peril in order to act selflessly on behalf of others. Not everyone can overcome the fear that grips them during battle, but Muḥammad believed that his own example could strengthen the courage of the fearful.

During the Battle of Uḥud he personally organized his warriors into the lines and groups he wanted, positioning them carefully where he thought they would prove most effective. He gave a rousing speech exhorting them to be steadfast and courageous. He then fought among his soldiers and exposed himself to such risks that he was in fact wounded by a projectile which struck his face and knocked him senseless for a few minutes. At that point, enemy troops were thronging to kill him and six devoted comrades made a human shield to project him. They all died defending him, with Abū Dujāna using his own body to intercept arrows fired at him. He had many arrows protruding from his body, but miraculously survived.[349] The Prophet continued fighting, with other warriors defending him whilst shouting “my soul instead of yours”.[350]

That does not mean that even the most rousing and courageous leadership will always prevent fear from overcoming people in battle. Humans are unpredictable and inconsistent. For example, at the Battle of Ḥunayn in January 630, which ended with a great and bountiful victory for Islam, there was a point when events swung against Muḥammad. The enemy force surprised the Muslims while they were preparing to set up their camp and showered them with arrows before rushing upon them on foot and horseback from hidden positions, forcing many Muslims to flee in fear and

disorder, with horses and camels bumping into each other and cries and shouts of terror filling the air. Here we see what Muḥammad was made of. He did not panic. Standing high in the stirrups on the back of a white mule in the midst of the pandemonium, closely protected by ten of his most loyal companions with another hundred fighting bravely around them against far greater numbers, he waved his sword and shouted repeatedly to his troops to stop fleeing and to gather around him. His cousin Abū Sufyān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who had only recently converted to Islam, steadied Muḥammad’s terrified mule, calming it while chaos swept around them.[351] Muḥammad’s courage and calls had the desired effect. The bulk of panicked Muslim troops regrouped and returned to the fight, soon securing for Muḥammad a total victory.

Thus, it is clear that, in every way imaginable, the raids as well as the pitched battles they led to or which occurred independently were a physical, emotional, and even spiritual struggle — a true Jihād — for Muhamad and the initially inexperienced members of his community. The question therefore remains as to why Muḥammad would want this activity, over which he had placed a mantle of strict monotheistic religiosity, to draw upon the very same methods commonly used and understood by pagan Bedouins and many other Arabs as their means of gaining prestige, increasing wealth, and developing and demonstrating military prowess and the manly qualities of courage, cunning, stealth, resourcefulness and hardiness.

The Recognized and Accepted Way of Projecting Power

Explaining why Muḥammad chose traditional Bedouin-style hunt-and-pounce raiding as his main form of warfare is straightforward. He did so precisely because that *was* **the recognised and accepted, and in many ways expected, way of achieving the aforementioned outcomes in stateless tribal Arabia, where he wanted his emergent polity to be esteemed, prosperous and powerful. How else could he attract others to it if it was not? He also wanted his men to become and to be seen as courageous, tenacious, resourceful and resilient. They would need to be so if they were going to take the new religious ideas**

to people everywhere.

No new religious movements emerge in a vacuum. They all grow out of and are part of the cultures of their times, and although they invariably challenge certain norms and traditions and introduce new scriptures, rituals, foci and aspirations for the future, they can only do so if at a fundamental level they still draw upon recognized societal structures, institutions, behaviors and leitmotifs. Muḥammad undoubtedly presented to the people of Arabia an unequivocal yet surprisingly ecumenical monotheism, a demand for adherence to what he saw as a divinely ordained universal morality, and a requirement for communal and individual piety and new rituals. He knew that many of the peoples he lived among would resist the changes he sought unless he could introduce those changes with sufficient power both to protect his community as it grew and to impress upon observers a clear understanding that Islam was a highly viable and a more-than-competitive force to be reckoned with.

The Arabia that he wanted to reform, tribe by tribe, was by any standards a rough place dominated or at least defined by tribalism, blood feuds, and continuous competition between small communities for resources, wealth and prestige. Pacifism was entirely absent. War was not a controversial or uncommon means of addressing grievances, which could even be over such matters as a perceived insult that damaged the reputation of a tribe or tribesman. Even the tribes of the Medina oasis, to which Muḥammad relocated in 622, had fought bitter and bloody wars among themselves, culminating in the Battle of Bu‘āth in 617, which occurred only five years before the *Hijra*. Arabia had few laws applicable to all, and no overarching government that might create and maintain any type of wider order or mediate in the constant disputes and wars. Muḥammad therefore had to build his community in a way that made sense to both its members and its future recruits and potential allies. Accordingly, he aimed to create and expand what in most ways was, and looked like, a kind of tribe — although a conceptually ingenious one in which religious confession and ideology, instead of kinship and familial relations, would bind its members together and serve as the basis of loyalty — rather than a modern state-like political organization with a “government” that would oversee a range of bureaucratic and administrative institutions. Imagining that he wanted the

latter is unhelpfully anachronistic.

When he first embraced the responsibility of independent communal leadership after arriving in Medina in 622 CE, his Muslim followers formed a tribe-like communal body within a city of at least five other distinct tribes and many subordinate or associated subgroups. Muḥammad recognized that he had to overcome the perception in Medina and throughout the Ḥijāz that he had been driven from Mecca, humiliated like an outcast. He thus had to make a big statement to show that in fact he had the recognized traits and behaviours of a legitimate leader. He also knew he had to give his men opportunities to gain and demonstrate the traits and behaviours that mattered most in seventh-century northern Arabia. Raiding was also a valve for releasing social pressure. Keeping young and commonly fiery men busy on activities that were fatiguing but esteemed to the point of glorification was obviously useful. His men were increasingly from non-settled communities and were therefore from the wider population which raided as part of their lifestyle. Yet raiding also served as a wonderful way of growing martial skill, the ethos of community service, and the desired qualities of leadership, honour, courage, self-sufficiency, resilience, and so forth. And if he wanted other people to join his own "tribe" or at least to establish peaceful relations with it, he had to show them *in ways they understood* that, first, he meant business, and second, that it would be advantageous for them to draw near, disadvantageous for them to draw away, and ruinous for them to oppose his new polity.

The sending out of scores of raids against the Quraysh and the Bedouin tribes and clans should be seen in this light, and we have no evidence that Muḥammad himself saw it differently. The Arabs greatly admired a man whose raids were continuous.[352] Raiding was a recognized, understood and acceptable Arabian way of acquiring the booty that individuals undoubtedly craved and which, through its clever and courageous acquisition, bestowed prestige. Booty would equally importantly help him to fund the expansion of his community and to demonstrate the martial prowess and chieftain-like generosity and largesse that he certainly had and which society expected of him now that he was a type of chief himself. He had once exclaimed to a tribal group which complained about its leader's miserliness: "What can be worse than [a chief's] miserliness!"[353] He also understood that the Bedouins throughout and beyond the Ḥijāz, who were the majority of the population

and whose ideals influenced everyone else[354], including the Quraysh who had themselves descended from Bedouins only a handful of generations earlier[355], would only respond positively to confidence, strength, élan, and generosity. Certainly, this is how Muḥammad came to be seen within a few short years, as Mālik ibn ʻAwf, a poet of the Thaqīf who changed sides and received one hundred camels from Muḥammad, confirmed: I have never seen or heard of anyone like [Muḥammad] in all of humanity Faithful to his word and abundantly generous when asked for a gift …

> When the military force shows its fangs with striking spears and swords,
> In the midst of the dust [of war] he is like a stalking lion Guarding his cubs in its den.[356]

There was of course more to it than merely raiding and taking booty in order to gain their constructive social consequences. Muḥammad needed to create a protective buffer around his community in Medina, which necessitated demonstrating to the tribes and clans around Medina — and doubtless to the non-Muslim groups *within* it — that he and his community were a force to be reckoned with. He also looked ahead strategically to how best to bring the southern tribes, those which were allied to the Quraysh (or at least treated them deferentially or permissively), into his ever-growing polity. Recognizing the high status that most tribes and groups accorded to the two most influential settled tribes, the Quraysh in Mecca and the Thaqīf in Ṭāʼif, he reasoned that if he could compete effectively *in recognizable ways* against those two tribes, he might also bring in the satellite tribal groups and even some of the Quraysh's and the Thaqīf's allies. That is precisely what he had accomplished by 630 CE. When he finally marched on Mecca that January, the overawed Quraysh promptly submitted to his authority and entered Islam, followed shortly after by the Thaqīf people, who saw the value in joining what had clearly become the only show in town. Nearly all the satellite tribes then punctually followed suit. Raids continued against those which held out, those which wavered in their loyalty, and those at the far reaches of Islamic influence.

Modern readers of Muḥammad's life, especially among the Islamic population which extols him as idealized human, have (as noted above) responded very uneasily to the fact that raiding caravans and herds for booty — which today we describe as "rustling" and view negatively — was a primary means of enriching the Islamic community, satisfying social

esteem needs and gaining and imposing power. At the heart of the awkwardness is a modern understanding that raiding is a form of theft, and that theft is entirely unfitting for any decent human, and especially for a religious person, to undertake. For Muslims, this understanding is especially problematic because they have learned to see Muḥammad as a paradigmatic holy man whose entire life serves as the best example of how they should themselves live. There is of course no possibility for them of seeing Muḥammad's raids as theft, the mistaken aversion to which has led to the creation of the convoluted and often antihistorical explanations mentioned above.

The vast region of Arabia in which Islam emerged was stateless and tribal with no centralised or even commonly agreed corpus of law, except perhaps for a widespread agreement on the largest issues of customary law. These were unwritten but agreed rights, rules and obligations that existed because things had always been done that way and had been accepted without significant dissent as normal and expected practices. The *lex talionis* ("law of retaliation") was at the heart of this customary law; an expectation that harm done purposefully by a person to another would require harm of an equivalent type or severity being done to him or her. In biblical terms we call this "an eye for an eye; a tooth for a tooth". This basic principle of justice was widely understood and accepted throughout seventh-century Arabia, where it was known as *Qiṣāṣ* (قِصَاص) — with blood money available to the victim's family as a substitute for physical retribution if agreement could be made. Islam accepted this principle and did not modify it[357], except by organising a centrally overseen system to judge disputes (which had not previously existed) and to prohibit internal feuding, and in time its scholars codified it as written law.

Customary law — that unwritten and binding set of values, principles and ideas about good and bad, right and wrong, esteemed and despised, honourable and dishonourable, and permissible and impermissible — created a virtually ubiquitous uniformity of understanding and action. In seventh-century northern Arabia, customary law certainly included the caravan and livestock raiding that occurred as a common experience. Its practices and unwritten "rules" — the rights, responsibilities, obligations, limitations and taboos that participants recognized, undertook, and

considered binding — were widely understood and not contested. At their heart was an acceptance of reciprocity (that what we do to you, you have a right to do to us) with no dispute that raiding the movable wealth of others was morally acceptable conduct.

Even the few sedentary communities, such as Mecca and Ṭā’if, fully understood this. They pragmatically negotiated different payment and inducement arrangements with the tribes and clans around them to ensure the least interference with their own commercial activities, yet they felt no distress or moral outrage when the caravans or herds of others were raided. Indeed, the Meccans were even happy to benefit whenever they could from the raiding that went on around them. For example, Qays ibn Zuhayr raided 400 pregnant camels belonging to his relative al-Rabi‘ ibn Ziyad. He brought them to Mecca and, despite their origin as booty, sold them to Ḥarb ibn Umayya, ‘Abdulla ibn Jud‘an and Hishām ibn al-Mughira in exchange for horses and weapons.[358]

Customary law tends to be modified and subsumed by statutory law as societies develop, and this was true of Arabia. By the time the *Sharī‘a* and its jurisprudential rules began to emerge as a body of written rules for Muslims and inhabitants of Islamic lands (around 150 years after Muḥammad’s death), raiding became subject to laws designed to maximize the unimpeded movement of trade goods across the Islamic empire. That does not mean that raiding disappeared. It did not, and in the Bedouin communities that continued with the practices, the ideals of honour, cunning, courage, tenacity, largesse, and so forth survived. Yet moral and legal positions undeniably created a legal, philosophical, and ethical gulf between those looking in and those looking out.

For modern readers of Islamic origins, especially for Muslims, the moral quandary remains. In today’s world, raiding caravans and herds for booty would be theft, in the same way that piracy or burglary is seen as theft. The logical approach to this quandary would actually be simply to acknowledge that moral norms and expectations are society-specific, time-specific, contextual, and repeatedly reinterpreted and re-evaluated. They are not therefore universal. Indeed, many moral philosophers (although not all, of course) reason that there is no universal morality that is applicable to and binding upon everyone everywhere with the same understanding for all time regardless of context.

For example, while one can argue that all known societies throughout history seem to have created a moral prohibition on murdering, one cannot simply say that all or even most people within all societies will see every killing of a person by another as wrong or immoral, or that it will be seen the same way by different societies, or even by the same societies at different points in their history. Complex ideas regarding the intention to kill and the nature and severity of the violence itself vary from place to place and time to time, and issues like premeditation, planning, motive, self-defence rights, emotional or mental capacity, and so forth further complicate even the simplest discussion of the wrongness of murder. And the role of authority adds a totally different dimension. When the state's or the non-state people's legitimate authority (such as the government or the leader) allows or requires something that an individual might otherwise not be permitted to do, it can change the moral position dramatically. For instance, if an individual in civil society were to stab another person in the chest with a knife, unless perhaps for self-defence when threatened with severe harm, he or she would certainly face the severest publishment, including lengthy and unpleasant incarceration and possibly even a death sentence. Yet, if either the state's or the people's legitimate authority were to send that person to war and he or she were to kill an enemy (as identified by the authority) in precisely the same way, that person would have done a socially acceptable, and maybe even esteemed (and medal-winning), action. Conversely, in many states a person's refusal to take life as part of the duty required by the legitimate authority during warfare might be seen as disloyalty or even cowardice and lead to severe censure and punishment.

Seventh-century inter-tribal raiding, including Muḥammad's, should be seen in this way. It was then unmistakably part of Arabia's moral landscape, with personal and communal honour and esteem attached to its successful conduct, even though that landscape has changed so much that we long longer recognize it. Today's readers need to understand the raids *as they were then understood*. Raiding for booty was neither banditry nor theft. The legitimate authority — the tribal leaders — not only allowed it, but repeatedly initiated it. Just as in today's world, the legitimate authority's initiation of an action created a moral legitimacy different to an action initiated by all other individuals. Thus, one cannot attribute the slightest immorality to the Islamic raids or to consider them theft. Within the raids'

moral framework, of course, was a firm and non-negotiable position that made an individual's taking of part of the booty without authority a clear case of theft, which might have the severest consequences for the thief.

Muslims should see the raids as part of a contextual, time-bound set of circumstances that no longer exist, socially sanctioned by customary law that has long been superseded, initiated by a type of leadership that has given way to governments, and undertaken according to values that have changed considerably. Muḥammad undertook them, it is true, and gained the same esteem and benefit as others who successfully did so in his era, and for Muslims that might seem a problem given that they want to follow his example. Yet they could only follow it anyway if there was a return to the very same contextual, time-bound set of circumstances. In that regard, this is the same as the impossibility of Muslims today following the Qur'ānic or prophetic direction on how Muslims should deal with polytheists performing pagan rituals at the Ka'ba. The situation no longer exists; so therefore, that direction is no longer an actionable part of a *Sunnah* that 1.8 billion Muslims today can follow.

Section 2

Pitched Battles and Attacks on Settlements

Ordinarily when scholars talk of “pitched battles,” they mean battles in which the time and place are determined beforehand, as opposed to “encounter battles” which occur more spontaneously as a result of the opposing forces fighting straight away when they meet unexpectedly. Pitched battles ordinarily involve the commitment of both sides to fight to the point where one side achieves an advantageous tactical outcome. This is seen as winning; as a “victory”. Of course, pitched battles do not always result in a clear winner. Sometimes both sides fight to a standstill, and a type of draw occurs which each side tries to pass off as getting the best of the other.

As we have seen, Muḥammad initiated many scores of raids without intending to draw the opponents into attritional, casualty-heavy battles. Indeed, as was the norm in Arabia, he ordinarily avoided battles — and told his followers: “O people, do not wish to meet the enemy!” (لاَ أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ

[359].(تَمَنَّوْا لِقَاءَ الْعَدُوِّ He greatly preferred stealthy ambushes and quick withdrawals. These seldom led to anything very deadly, and most actually involved very few deaths (and some involved none at all). “Victory” for Arab raiders only meant that a decent amount of booty had been taken, the other group had agreed to a peace arrangement, or had fled, thus proving that the raiders had inflicted sufficient fear that they could celebrate their reputation. Yet the establishment of the Islamic polity did involve a number of pitched battles as well as several heavy encounter battles which, in their scope, nature and method, were indistinguishable from pitched battles. At times, both the Islamic polity and its opponents attacked settled communities — the so-called towns and “cities” that existed near wells or other sources of water — with these battles at least superficially resembling medieval sieges. These are far better known than the much more numerous hunt-and-pounce raids analyzed in the previous section. Most Muslims esteem Muḥammad so highly that they learn his *Sīrah*, or life story, and they try to relate Qur’ānic revelations to key events in his life. They therefore know the basic story of the “main” battles — Badr, Uḥud, the Trench, and the Conquest of Mecca — and many Muslims even know certain details of the conquest of Khaybar and the Battles of Mu’ta, Ḥunayn, Ṭā’if, and Tabūk.

This chapter aims to re-examine the earliest Arabic narrative sources in order to explain, if possible, the strategic and tactical ideas imbedded within these battles. The standard narrative of the battles, constructed almost exclusively by Muslims, has understandably (but unhelpfully for modern historiography) been heavily imbued with religious bias. In other words, the sources say that Muslims won or lost battles because God willed it. Strategies and tactics worked because God made some successful and others not so. God directly intervened to reward His prophet’s faith or withheld his blessing at times because of the inadequate faith and even disobedience of certain Muslims. Both hagiographical and martyrological — with an emphasis on describing and listing the actions and deaths of martyrs — the sources do not read as detached chronicles.

This observation is not meant as either a criticism of the writers and their approach or a suggestion that their narrative, in its broad outline, is incorrect. Most historical chronicles throughout Christian late antiquity and

the Middle Ages took a similar hagiographical form, and religious biographies and the histories of religious communities, usually written by adherents, frequently still do. Yet there is no reason to assume that the basic Islamic narrative presented in the earliest Islamic sources is inaccurate or unreliable. If one visits the sites of Muḥammad's raids and battles, one finds that they are indeed at the walking or riding distances from Medina that the earliest extant sources indicate, their geography and topography match the early descriptions, as do the archaeological remains of forts and other structures, and ancient cemeteries there contain bodies buried during that period. This author has himself walked the battlefields and can attest to their basic conformity with the written descriptions. Rusty iron arrowheads and spearheads found there further testify that people fought there.

The March to Badr The most famous Islamic pitched battle, the first in which Muslims and opponents agreed to fight to the point of decision, grew from an unsuccessful attempted Islamic raid involving a little over three hundred Muslim raiders led by Muḥammad against a large but lightly guarded Quraysh caravan which would soon pass on a coastal road west of Medina as it headed south to Mecca from Syria. The caravan — which al-Wāqidī says was made up of several smaller caravans which presumably came together to have strength in numbers[360] — consisted of around one thousand camels reportedly carrying a small fortune in trade goods. Muḥammad had spies along the caravan routes and learned of the caravan's approach. He therefore led a raiding party to intercept it, but was unable to do so because Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, the caravan leader, had learned from travellers on the road that Muḥammad would be waiting. Abū Sufyān consequently led the caravan on an unpredictable route and managed to elude the Muslims and lead the caravan safely to Mecca. A Meccan force of around 750 to 950 warriors dispatched to the vicinity to escort the caravan during the final stage of its journey

decided to make a stand at the unsettled oasis of Badr, as did Muḥammad's greatly outnumbered raiding party. A set-piece battle occurred, which provided the Muslims with a surprising victory.

Explaining the victory is straightforward for believing Muslims, including their historians and other scholars who narrate the event in rich detail. God willed that Muḥammad and his raiders would win the battle, thus, although greatly outnumbered, they duly won the battle, assisted by angels. That explanation is sufficient for them, naturally, but it prevents anyone from outside the Islamic religion from understanding in ways that might make sense to them the complex causes of the Islamic success in battle. The astounding victory needs to be explained. After all, Muḥammad had never led forces in a pitched battle — indeed, his prior military leadership experience consisted of having led three unsuccessful raids against caravans and an unsuccessful pursuit of raiders who had stolen some of Medina's camels[361] — and he had a much smaller and less adequately equipped force than the enemy.

The earliest surviving narrative sources reveal that the Battle was both unintended and unforeseen by Muḥammad, who was really only trying once again to intercept a Quraysh caravan. Montgomery Watt claims that the booty taken on the previous raid — in Nakhla, between Ṭā'if and Mecca, in January 624 — had given "a fillip to the policy of raiding Meccan caravans," and encouraged Muḥammad to persevere with this tactic despite its previous unsuccessfulness.[362] Certainly, the booty from Nakhla must have inspired enthusiasm within his community, because Muḥammad's call to participate in the raid for Abū Sufyān's caravan drew over 300 volunteers, which was a far larger force than any previously sent out.

Two forward scouts had seen the caravan and what it carried, and reported back to Muḥammad, who enthusiastically informed his people: "This caravan of the Quraysh holds their wealth, and perhaps Allah will grant it to you as plunder."[363] This had a stunning effect, with people clambering to join the raid. Like al-Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī is clear that booty was the lure: the Muslims "did not think that there was anything but booty and did not think that there would be a great battle" when they met the caravan.[364] It is hard, then, to know what to make of Al-Mubarakpuri's best-

selling book *The Sealed Nectar*, which has twisted Muḥammad's call to participate to read like this: "The Prophet immediately encouraged the Muslims to rush out and intercept the caravan to make up for their property and wealth they were forced to give up in Makkah."[365] This is utterly misleading.

The standard Islamic account, based on Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī[366], says that Abū Sufyān learned from other travellers whilst near Tabūk, far north of Medina, that Muḥammad had led a raiding party out of Medina in order to ambush the caravan. Taking fright, he dispatched a swift rider to take news to Mecca that Muḥammad would ambush the caravan unless the Meccans sent out a force to protect it and escort it safely back to Mecca. This part of the account seems unlikely. For a rider to reach distant Mecca from near Tabūk (over 1,000 kilometers), for the Meccans to organize and equip a military force from nothing, and for that force to march or ride north towards the Badr area (320 kilometers), would have taken far too long; at least two weeks. It is more likely that, aware while passing Medina that he was being watched on his way north, Abū Sufyān at that moment sent the rider to advise the Quraysh that Muḥammad and his raiders would likely be waiting for him on his return journey. The Meccans immediately began to organize their response.

Another possibility is that the Meccans, aware of the probability of ambush now present on the north-south coastal road, had already dispatched their escort force to bring the caravan home safely (regardless of any appeal by Abū Sufyān) and that it was therefore able to reach Badr at around the same time as Muḥammad did. After all, the Quraysh had their own thorough network of allies and informants and, especially since the Muslims had begun harassing caravans on the coastal road, were monitoring Muslim movements. The Muslims' attempted raids had been unsuccessful, but had signaled a serious threat. It is therefore unlikely that the Quraysh would have left a major caravan — which reportedly contained trade goods or wealth belonging to virtually every man and woman of Mecca — unescorted as it wove its way past Medina. Already antagonized by the Muslim killing of their man ʻĀmir ibn al-Hadramī during the Nakhla raid, for which Muḥammad had paid no blood money[367], thus leaving the tribal offense unresolved, the Quraysh tribe was utterly hostile to Muḥammad and would now do what it considered necessary to fix the

problem if Muḥammad dared to confront the caravan. Indeed, the great Islamic historian al-Ṭabarī sees the unavenged and unresolved killing of ʻĀmir ibn al-Hadramī and the taking of two prisoners at Nakhla as the root cause of the festering Quraysh anger and hatred that now, with the threat to the caravan, "ignited" into an outright state of war between the Quraysh and Muḥammad.[368]

The Quraysh had no standing army of full-time soldiers in Mecca. No tribes in the Ḥijāz then did. When conflict came to a particular tribe or community, its men left their herds (or even took them with them) or in the case of settled communities, left their workshops, markets, plantations, orchards, or fields to fight until the grievance had been addressed or the threat lifted. Individuals might have armor and weapons stored for such an event.[369] A pre-Islamic Arabian poem refers to this: "We keep ready for the day of alarm a smooth coat of mail, ample, polished and shining, and a keen-edged sword, light and quick in its stroke, evil-natured [to its foes]."[370] Yet Mecca had no central weapons cache. To raise a sufficient force to thwart Muḥammad's goal of taking their caravan, they had to call their people to march out, and then, because not everyone had their own camels, horses, armor and weapons, to provision and arm as many as possible. The early narrative sources describe a fevered preparation (they later blamed Satan for their frenzy[371]) as they organized themselves in Mecca over two or three days. Richer Meccans provided provisions for their less prosperous neighbors, everyone who had chain mail overshirts had to repair and oil them (removing rust and closing any gaps), and they had to sharpen their spears and swords.

Mail armor was enormously expensive. It was mainly imported from the Sassanid empire[372], or from India. It was either ringed (the "chain" mail commonly depicted in films set in the Middle Ages) or scaled (leather clothing on which individual slightly convex iron scales were sewn or laced and arranged in tightly overlapping rows resembling the scales of a fish or reptile). Although less prestigious, flexible and comfortable, scale armor was cheaper to manufacture and purchase and reportedly offered better protection from the hail of arrows that Arabs fired at each other. Sixth and seventh-century poetry is replete with descriptions of both types of armor, but the strength of scale armor receives unusual praise. For example: Yea [and I have] also a coat of mail flowing down over the body, wide-

extending, of the make of the Tubba's, held together with firm pins, from which the broad-headed long arrows fall away in disgust / Glittering scales like the back of a fish, no lance has any effect on it, much less those wretched little shafts that strive to penetrate it.[373]

Beautiful or luxurious armor was treasured, and passed from father to son, often with a unique name. From the booty gained during the siege of the Banū Qaynuqāʿ fortress in April 624, for instance, Muḥammad gained coats of mail called al-Ṣaghdiyya and Fiḍḍa as his *ṣāfiya*, or leader's share. He gave one called al-Saḥl, "which is famous," to Saʿd ibn Muʿādh.[374]

With a dome-shaped iron helmet protecting the head, sometimes with chain mail hanging to cover the neck (described in one poem as "a coif of mail hanging down from a Himyarite helmet glistening in the sun, from which stones fly shattered into small pieces"[375]), the seventh century Arabian warrior had a reasonable chance of surviving arrow strikes against parts of the body thus protected, and possibly even of surviving an oblique sword slash or spear thrust.

The curved scimitars long associated with the Islamic world came much later than the time of Muḥammad (despite many authors anachronistically putting them in the hands of Muḥammad and his contemporaries[376]). Double-edged one-handed straight swords of various lengths and styles were the norm — hung from a belt over the shoulder, crossing the chest ("And if I am old, yet I swear a solemn oath that never shall leave my shoulder a blade of polished steel").[377] Swords were undoubted the most glamorous and celebrated of the pre-Islamic and early-Islamic weapons used in Arabia, and they are endlessly eulogized in the stories and poetry of both periods. Ibn Hishām writes of "Men who smote the front ranks of the enemy / With broad-bladed Indian swords" and notes that the Arabs delighted in polishing their swords until they shone ("white as salt," a simile also found throughout pre-Islamic poetry).[378] We read in the same poem as the one above, which describes the scaled mail, that the poet had: a glittering sword, that cuts straight through the thing it strikes / Of the best and purest of steel, its edge never ceases to be keen: ancient generations forged and fashioned it / A smooth blade of India when its edge is raised to smite the tops of the helms, the shoulders beneath are not safe from its stroke / When he that wields it rushes towards his foe, already has he addressed to it this word "May all blades be thy ransom! / Art thou not of

finest temper? The topmost crests [of the helmets] cannot stop thee, and thou fallest not short however far be the stroke for the hand that wields thee." / A sword that makes no sound when it is drawn forth from its sheath: its surface has been polished and cleared of all rust by the armourers.[379]

A beautifully made sword imported from Yemen or India, and especially a highly desirable "Mashrafite" sword from Masharif in Syria[380], might be so prestigious that it would be recognized on sight as being the weapon of a particular person.[381] Like high-quality armor, some swords even had names that were passed with the weapons from father to son.[382] Ibn Hishām quotes a poem describing certain warriors as "firebrands in war / Brandishing spears directed at their enemies / Every fine sharp Indian blade / Inherited from the days of ʻĀd and Jurhum".[383] The best-known sword within the Islamic tradition is undoubtedly Dhū l-Faqār (ذُو لْفَقَار, possibly meaning "the one who cleaves the spine" or something similar), a split-tip sword which Muḥammad had gained at Badr as his *ṣāfiya*.[384] He gave it to his beloved cousin and son-in-law, ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, which whom it has remained associated.[385] Sword-blows that crushed or split helmets or severed limbs are repeatedly praised in both pre-Islamic poetry and the early Islamic narratives and poems. Blades heavily notched with damage inflicted in battle are especially lauded ("He rode Fear alone without a fellow / But only his deep-notched blade of Al-Yaman").[386]

Despite swords featuring more in pre-Islamic poetry than other weapons[387], reflecting their prestige, they really only played a major role in the types of hand-to-hand combat that seldom took place on raids and which was even the last resort in the pitched battles that occurred far less often than raids. One poet recalled a battle when, after showering the enemy with arrows and then thrusting at them with their spears, "nought would serve us but the Mashrafite swords that cut straight through the bone."[388] Al-Wāqidī describes something similar: ʻĀṣim ibn Thābit, killed by deceitful foes after being attacked during the Islamic mission to al-Rajīʻ in July 625, "aimed at them with arrows until he had run out. Then he pierced them with his spear until his spear broke. Only his sword remained."[389]

The most commonly carried weapons, and those which caused most deaths and wounds, were not the more glamorous swords, but were long

thrusting or stabbing spears. Called lances by some historians, because they were usually used from horse-back (or camel-back if a group had few horses) to stab down at enemies[390], the 2.5 to 4.5-meter-long spears were also utilized by dismounted warriors who marched forward on foot after having tied the legs of their camels.[391]

Thrust into an opponent as opposed to being thrown, the long spears were seemingly ubiquitous. Combat was often described synonymously as “spear-play”.[392] This almost always occurred before, and often rendered unnecessary, the final “foot-fight” with swords.[393] The long, narrow and sword-sharp spearheads were made of forged iron or ideally steel and, as one poet enthused, were “kindled to wrath, eager for men’s flesh”.[394] The shafts were made either of imported hardwood from destinations unknown or, most commonly, of heat-treated mature (i.e., not green) bamboo imported from India and turned into spears in al-Bahrayn (“blue steel their points, red and straight their slender Indian stems”[395]).[396] Bamboo has a characteristic set of knuckles or joints along its length, and this features prominently in both pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry. More importantly, the Arabs’ bamboo spear had enough energy-dispersing flexibility to survive impacts with armor, a shield, or another hardened surface (poetically depicted as a “spear quivering continuously in the joints, tawny, hard”[397]). This is one seventh-century warrior’s self-description: “Full of spirit, like a casting-stone [clad in] an ample coat of mail that turns all arrows, and armed with a pliant spear that quivers when I brandish it.”[398] This pliability was crucial; as Al-Mujadhdhar Ibn Dhiyād, a Muslim warrior, noted when describing his slaying of an opponent at Badr: “When I thrust my spear into him it bent almost double.”[399]

The other killing weapon was the bow and arrow. Narrative descriptions of, and evocative poems recounting, both sixth century and early Islamic warfare describe the effectiveness of arrows fired by standing and riding archers. Bows capable of projecting arrows over short distances but with impressive penetrating power rounded out the arsenal of the sixth and seventh century Arabian warrior. One old man, commenting on his advanced age, lamented: If thou seest that my weapon is now the little spear of Abū Sa‘d, time was when I carried all the weapons of a warrior together / The sword and the lance and the quiver and the arrows, goodly with the feathers cut evenly, the best of make / Whose notches were cut squarely and

spliced firmly [with sinews] by the most skilful in his art of all the arrow-makers of ‘Adwān / Then he clothed them with black, coal-black, bushy feathers the three front-feathers of the wing and that which is next.[400]

Bows were made of the upper trunks of the *sara* (also known as *nab‘*), a tree growing in the mountains, and arrows came from its branches.[401] The bowstring was made of animal sinew and had a second military use: it served as the binding for prisoners’ hands and feet after a successful raid or battle.[402]

Owned by most men, both nomadic and settled, bows provided the ability to kill from a distance, which made them perfect weapons for both raiding and pitched battles. On a raid, the ambushing party could shower an unsuspecting foe with arrows and drive it back from the herds that the raiders wanted as booty, and in a battle the archers could seriously weaken an enemy line before it closed with their own line for the bloody “spear-play” that came before any final sword-fighting.[403] Mastering the bow took a lot of practice, of course, so Muḥammad encouraged experienced archers to teach the skill to boys, as he had himself learned it, and for them to practice throughout their lives: Practice archery and practice riding. That you should practice archery is even more beloved to me than that you should ride. All idle pastimes that the Muslim engages in are pointless, except for his shooting of his bow, his training of his horse, and his playing with his wife, for they are from truth.[404]

In preparation for fighting, Muḥammad once exhorted: “Prepare to meet them with as much strength as you can muster. Beware; in archery is strength. Beware; in archery is strength. Beware; in archery is strength.”[405] He added: “So let none of you forsake practicing with his arrows.”[406] He even taught that, if one had learned archery, and then grown tired of it, he had rejected or become ungrateful for what was in fact one of God’s blessings.[407]

Rounding out the warrior’s ensemble was a small shield, made from camel hide; “it is *qarrā‘,* ‘able in the highest degree to sustain blows’”.[408] A good shield could protect its owner from arrows and even from oblique spear thrusts and direct sword slashes.[409]

This, then, was how Muḥammad’s raiding party was armed and equipped as it sought to seize Abū Sufyān’s caravan, although it is unlikely that most or even many of his three hundred men were fully equipped or possessed

the highest quality weapons. Not everyone wore armor and carried swords. Even Muḥammad, according to one narration quoted by al-Wāqidī, marched forth without a sword. Another narration says that he owned no sword but was gifted one for the Badr raid, along with a mail coat, by Khazraj leader Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubāda.[410]

The same types of weapons were hastily gathered together by the Quraysh tribe as it frantically organized itself within Mecca for the northward march to prevent Muḥammad from raiding its caravan. Unlike Muḥammad at this stage, the Quraysh had the means to equip almost everyone, and to do so more thoroughly.

Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām reveal that, when the Quraysh prepared to march forth to secure their caravan and to deal with Muḥammad, many of the elders felt either hesitant or unwilling and were therefore ridiculed by others for their alleged cowardice. One or two held out; the others gave in and joined the campaign. Islamic sources say that the gathered Quraysh force finally numbered over nine hundred, and possibly even around one thousand[411], which should have been enough to drive Muḥammad away through fear and common sense. Whereas Muḥammad’s raiding party had seventy camels and two horses for a little over three hundred men — meaning they had people taking turn walking and riding, with some camels carrying three or four warriors[412] — the Quraysh mustered around seven hundred camels and one hundred horses for nine hundred or one thousand warriors.[413] Al-Wāqidī notes that the Meccan horsemen were “clad in armor,” a pointless observation unless it means that they wore fuller armor than the other warriors.[414] He adds that they did so to be seen as impressive. Perhaps they and their horses wore Sassanid-style cavalry armor, even if not, of course, to the extent of the famous Sassanid cataphracts. Al-Wāqidī adds that even infantrymen wore mail. It was a significant demonstration of Meccan superiority. Unless it faced no option, a force that was outnumbered three-to-one would ordinarily realize that its chances of success were slim and would, therefore, withdraw to fight another day. To create the fullest impression of power, the Quraysh advanced as if they actually desired a pitched battle (“They went out as warriors jabbing spears at each other in war”).[415] They took sacrificial camels, female singers with their tambourines, and trumpeters.[416]

As it happened, the Meccan force — which lavishly sacrificed camels,

enjoyed festivities and provided hospitality to local tribesmen who approached them at each watering hole as it made its way north — received the startling news from a messenger that Abū Sufyān had managed to elude the Muslims near Badr. Having discovered that Muḥammad's raiders must be nearby from date stones within excrement left by two Muslim scouts' camels (which meant the camels were from Medina[417]), Abū Sufyān had immediately driven the caravan southward, ignoring rest and watering needs, and switched from the road to the sea shore, thus getting well ahead of the raiders. Relieved to have saved the caravan, Abū Sufyān sent word ahead to the Meccans, who were still only seventy kilometers north of Mecca, that their escort force was no longer needed. He was clear in his advice: They should turn back. There was no longer any need to risk death and the humiliation of defeat. "Indeed, when war destroys," he warned, "it tortures."[418]

The Meccan leadership hotly debated Abū Sufyān's advice. Some type of intoxicating optimism seems to have gripped several of the leaders. Genuinely believing that their vast numbers and superior power would prove too much for the Muslims, who would either stand and fight, and thus suffer defeat, or flee, and thus experience a humiliation that would significantly and permanently weaken Muḥammad's reputation, they decided to press on. It was not unanimous, and during the debate the issue of the blood money that they claimed Muḥammad still owed for ʻAmr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, killed at Nakhla, kept coming up. It was seen as a serious tribal infraction, warranting the severest response.

The decision to push on was not just about tribal honour or the righting of an alleged wrong. It also had an undeniable strategic logic. Muḥammad's Medina-based Muslims were clearly not going to stop raiding commercial caravans, which seriously jeopardized trade and would probably also limit the number of pilgrims who would risk journeying from the north into Mecca to fulfil their religious obligations. As custodians of the Kaʻba (the shrine in Mecca's center, which had cultic significance for various religious communities), the Quraysh made a lot of profit during pilgrimage months. The Quraysh had to remove this threat once and for all.

That mattered less to some of the Quraysh's allies who had marched forth as part of the column, hoping for booty. Warriors from two tribes, the Banū Zuhra and Banū ʻAdī ibn Kaʻb, heard Abū Sufyān's advice and now saw no

value in going on. They withdrew completely.[419] We are unsure how significantly the departure of these groups reduced the overall force strength, but it makes sense that the force that continued northward no longer numbered over nine hundred. It would appear that the departing groups probably numbered up to three hundred[420], meaning that the remaining force must have numbered around seven hundred or less after they had left. That did not rob Abū Jahl ("Father of Ignorance," whose real name was ʻAmr Ibn Hishām al-Makhzūmī), and the other Meccan leaders of their passionate desire for revenge — a central feature of seventh century tribal dispute resolution — or their total confidence that Muḥammad would not stand and fight against a better armed, more mobile, and vastly larger force. Abū Jahl, who is forever known to Muslims as one of Muḥammad's most implacable foes (hence his sobriquet), had already proclaimed "No, by Allah, we will not go back until we have been to Badr. … We will spend three days there, slaughtering camels and feasting and drinking, and the slave girls shall play for us. The Arabs will hear of what we do, and will fear us forever after that. So, proceed!"[421] He obviously had in mind the oasis of Badr's role as the location of an annual fair and reasoned that if they could make some type of spectacle, either through scaring away Muḥammad's raiding party or defeating it in battle, they could celebrate at Badr in a grand manner.

Of course, Muḥammad knew nothing yet about the Meccan force advancing northward. He first learned of this after having marched out of Medina at the head of around three hundred raiders with the sole aim of raiding Abū Sufyān's caravan. The booty was likely to be extraordinary, if they could take it. Wanting not to be detected, he led his men on a circuitous and unusual route through wādīs and tight canyons.

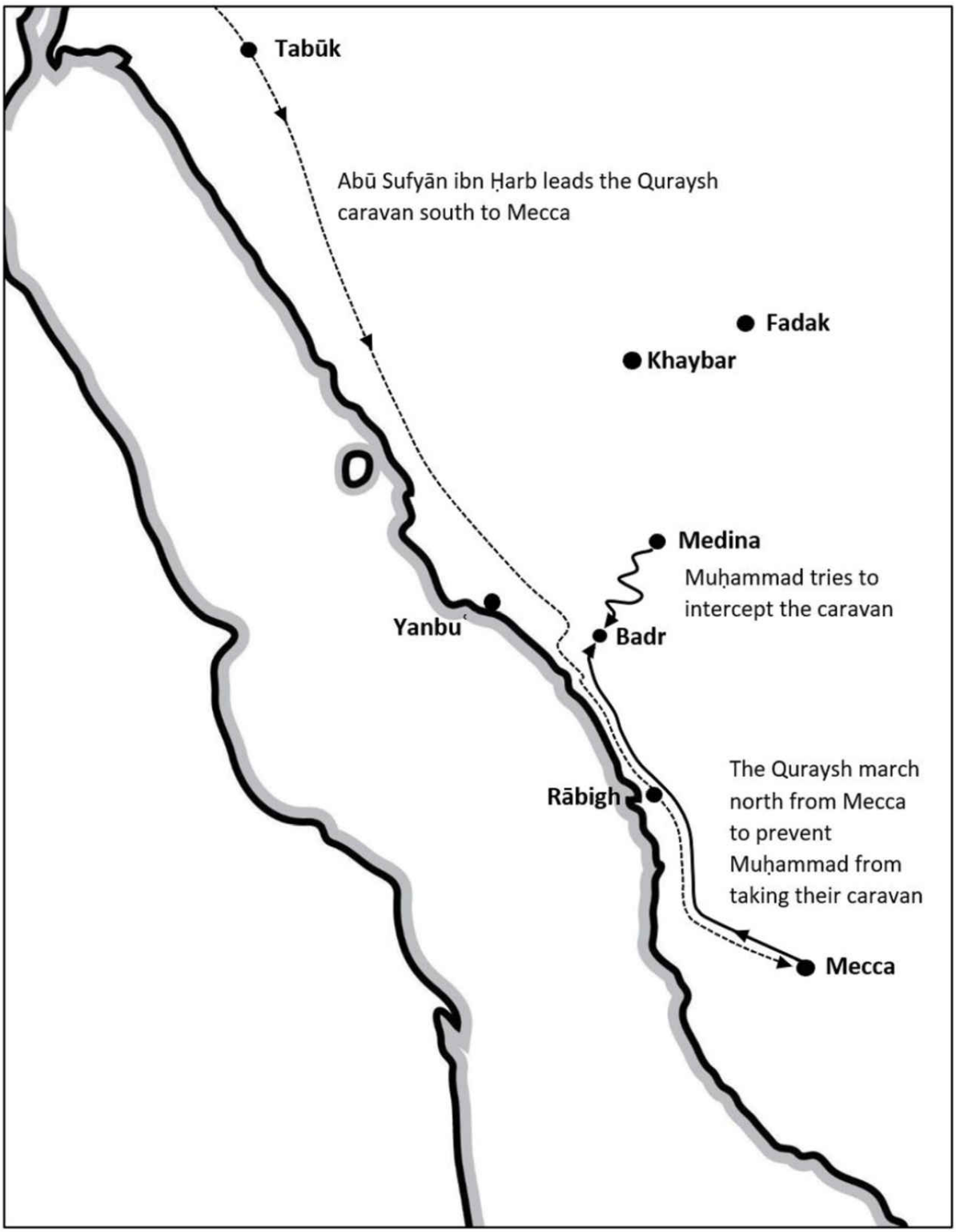

Figure 4. The March Routes to Badr

When Muḥammad had almost reached Badr, he heard from travellers or local tribesmen news of a shocking nature: a strong Meccan force was bearing down on them. He consulted with his inner circle and received clear advice that, because the Meccans seemed determined to fight, they, the Muslims, must now prepare for battle.[422] Al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr, one of the very first men to convert to Islam in Mecca, speaking on behalf of the seventy-four *Muhājirūn*, affirmed to the Prophet that they would never desert him as they understood the Children of Israel had once deserted Moses.[423]

Anxious in case the *Anṣār*, who numbered (according to Ibn Sa‘d[424]) 231 men out of the total of 305, would now withdraw, having no contractual obligation to defend him or fight his enemies outside of Medina and its immediate environs, Muḥammad asked the *Anṣār* for guidance. “Advise me, O people” (أشيروا علي أيها الناس), he said.[425] They had not participated in any of the previous raids for precisely this reason, so he was unsure what they would now do. They had come out for booty; now, with no chance of booty but with a battle looming, Muḥammad needed to know if they would stay or go. To his profound relief, the *Anṣār* confirmed that, having pledged their loyalty to him via the *bay‘a*, they would not desert him in his moment of need.

In pre-Islamic and Islamic Arabia, obedience to tribal leaders was expressed via a formal pledge of allegiance called *bay‘a*, a word which derives from the Arabic root “*by‘*,” which denotes both buying and selling. This pledge, therefore, was originally a transaction ratified by a handshake of the parties involved.[426] It involved two-way responsibilities, with the leader implicitly or explicitly agreeing to lead fairly and wisely and to be generous, and the other party agreeing to obey instructions and offer any required service. The largesse expected of the leader accepting a loyalty pledge from someone outside the clan was no less than that expected by kin. As an unknown self-praising Arab poet expressed it: “I give generously to strangers who come from afar to seek my bounty, and I withhold it not from those who are my kin or bound to me by covenant.”[427]

For believers and those who agreed to submit to the Islamic polity, obeying Muhamad was the same as obeying God. This is evident in the sources. The clearest statement is found in *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:10, where the

Qur’ān describes how Muḥammad personally accepted with hand clasps the pledge of his followers immediately preceding the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya in March 628: فَبِمَا رَحْمَةٍ مِّنَ اللّهِ لِنتَ لَهُمْ وَلَوْ كُنتَ فَظّاً غَلِيظَ الْقَلْبِ لاَنفَضُّواْ مِنْ حَوْلِكَ فَاعْفُ عَنْهُمْ وَاسْتَغْفِرْ لَهُمْ وَشَاوِرْهُمْ فِي الأَمْرِ فَإِذَا عَزَمْتَ فَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللّهِ إِنَّ اللّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَوَكِّلِينَ.

> 10. Those who pledge allegiance to you, it is to Allah that they pledge. The hand of God is above [i.e., clasps] their hands. As for those who break their pledge, they do so only against their own souls. Those who fulfill their promise to God will receive a great reward.[428]

Thus, a pledge of allegiance with Muḥammad was more than merely a transactional civil matter; it was also deeply religiously binding. Historian Ella Landau-Tasseron reveals its seriousness: “[Exchanging] pledges with the Prophet (which was done by a hand clasp) was tantamount to a bay‘a with Allah and constituted an unequivocal commitment to Him. … Such perception of the bay‘a elucidates the Islamic viewpoint that it is irrevocable. Withdrawing a bay‘a exchanged with the Prophet on behalf of Allah amounted to apostasy, which, like unbelief, is punishable by death.”[429] Dozens of *aḥādīth* convey the seriousness with which both Muḥammad and his companions and followers regarded the *bay‘a*. Yet one should not mistake this formal pledge as an inflexible fear-based substitute for good leadership; that Muḥammad’s followers feared him and the consequences of breaking their pledge and only obeyed him because of that fear. On the contrary, Muḥammad possessed remarkable gifts of inspiration and persuasion. His followers served him with dedication and tremendous respect and affection.

The *bay‘a* that Muḥammad accepted from believers (and others who submitted to his temporal authority without embracing his religion) was gentler in intent than the rather ominous-sounding Qur’ānic verse above suggests if read without context. The *bay‘a* contains a “do your best” type of qualifier. For example, in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* we find this *ḥadīth*: “Whenever we gave the pledge of allegiance to Allah’s Messenger ﷺ to listen to and obey him, he used to say to us, ‘for as much as you can.’”[430] Similarly, when Muḥammad entered Mecca in 610 CE at the head of an

army reportedly numbering ten thousand and conquered his old hometown without bloodshed, promptly forgiving its citizens for eight years of fighting and many years before that of ridicule and oppression, he duly asked for their collective pledge of fealty. In front of the Ka‘ba, the holy house in Mecca’s center, he accepted their promise to listen to him and obey him, “as best they could.”[431]

For believers, the pledge itself ordinarily followed a formula involving — along with the clasping of hands — a promise to listen to the Prophet and to obey his instructions, to associate no gods with Allah and to live well according to Islamic teachings, to be good to other Muslims, and perhaps also to undertake a particular task, such as to emigrate to Medina or to participate in a raid or battle on behalf of the Islamic polity. For non-believers, the *bay‘a* was the same except that Muḥammad imposed no religious obligations.

The phrase “to listen to and obey” the Prophet (عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ) occurs in the earliest narrative *Sīrah* sources and in virtually every *ḥadīth* discussing *bay‘a*. It places upon the follower an active, rather than passive, responsibility to try to understand Muḥammad’s intentions.

Whether one liked a tasking or not, the subordinate had to obey.[432] This expectation of full obedience was not something that Muḥammad introduced. It pre-dated him, as we can see from the Day of Al-Kulāb, a recent pre-Islamic battle, at which Aktham ibn Ṣayfī harangued his people: “Obedience is the bond of rule and there can be no power for the Chieftain who is not obeyed.”[433]

Aware that some leaders might rely on this concept of obedience to compel subordinates to do unethical things, Muḥammad explained that trying to understand what one was told to do and why it should be done (the listening) was as important as carrying out the instruction (the obedience), with critical thinking being necessary to determine whether the instruction was a righteous task.[434]

Muḥammad was gentle and flexible when he recognized sometimes that a greater good might be accomplished by releasing someone from a vow. When a young man happened to tell him that his pledge to emigrate with him (presumably to Medina) had made his parents cry, he humanely said: “Go back to them, and make them smile just as you had made them

weep.”[435]

Obedience was not required if any instruction violated the principles of Islam or even of commonsense (understood to be what is well known to be good[436]). For example, after swearing to obey a raid leader appointed by the Prophet, certain raiders were slow to build the fire that the leader had demanded. He then became enraged, ordered them to build a fire and throw themselves into it. They duly built the fire but then, before throwing themselves into it, demurred and said to the leader: “We followed the Prophet s to escape from the fire [that is, from Hell]. How should we enter it now?” The fire subsided and the commander’s temper cooled. When Muḥammad heard of this, he said, “If they had entered it [the fire] they would never have come out of it [i.e., they would have remained in hellfire], for obedience is required only in what is good.”[437]

One can imagine the enthusiasm that accompanied pledging obedience to Muḥammad. Breaking the pledge would evoke God’s wrath, but, conversely, keeping it would bring spiritual rewards, including Paradise (described in the verse quoted above from *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* as “a great reward”[438]), as well as success and blessings in this life. We thus find even powerful men pledging allegiance with a promise of earthly benefit. We have a record, for example, of ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ, a Meccan antagonist of Muḥammad, finally swearing allegiance to Muḥammad “on the condition that my past sins be pardoned and that he [Muḥammad] give me an active part in affairs, and he did so.”[439] ‘Amr went on to become a great Islamic hero who led the Muslim conquest of Egypt and served as its governor from 640 to 646 and 658 to 664 CE.

Reward for obedience was not unusual. After all, the Qur’ān is clear that loyalty and obedience to the Prophet would bring earthly benefit. Regarding those who pledged their *bay‘a* at al-Ḥudaybiyya, the Qur’ān (*Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:18, 19) says: لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي قُلُوبِهِمْ فَأَنزَلَ السَّكِينَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَثَابَهُمْ فَتْحاً قَرِيباً. وَمَغَانِمَ كَثِيرَةً يَأْخُذُونَهَا وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَزِيزاً حَكِيماً.

> 18. Certainly Allah was pleased with the believers when they pledged allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquility on them and rewarded them with an imminent victory.

19. And much booty that they will capture. Allah is Almighty and Wise.[440]

Now, outside of Badr, with a Meccan force closing in and wanting battle, Muḥammad was delighted to see that the *Anṣār* would honour their *bay‘a*. They would follow him if he chose to fight, which to them seemed, continuing with the biblical imagery used by Al-Miqdād ibn ‘Amr of the *Muhājirūn*, to require a miracle like Moses parting the Red Sea. Speaking on the *Anṣār*’s behalf, the Aws leader Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh told Muḥammad that he was their prophet, they trusted his judgment, and they would honour their solemn *bay‘a* pledge to “listen to and obey” him. “Even if you consider this a sea that we must pass through,” he said, “we will go through it with you, and there’s not one of us who will stay behind.”[441] He noted that war was not something he knew much about, but that he and his companions did “not hate to meet our enemy tomorrow.”

Muḥammad thanked Sa‘d very sincerely and prayed a blessing upon him, now feeling certain he could count on Sa‘d’s men to support him regardless of whatever would transpire. The Prophet probably did not yet know that Abū Sufyān’s caravan had eluded him. He still thought that the caravan might actually be at Badr, but knowing that a huge Meccan fighting force was also now in the vicinity, he realized that he might end up confronting it instead. He ended his conversation with Sa‘d with the words: “Go now, by the grace of Allah, for Allah has granted me one of the two parties.” Al-Wāqidī suggestes that Muḥammad already knew that the caravan had escaped, but his own reference to Allah having “granted me one of the two parties” shows otherwise. It would be either the caravan or the fighting force, as Ibn Hishām reveals: “When night fell,” Muḥammad sent several scouts to the wells of Badr, “in search of news about the two parties”.[442] This same phrase is found in the Qur’ānic description of this period (*Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:7): وَإِذْ يَعِدُكُمُ اللّهُ إِحْدَى الطَّائِفَتِيْنِ أَنَّهَا لَكُمْ وَتَوَدُّونَ أَنَّ غَيْرَ ذَاتِ الشَّوْكَةِ تَكُونُ لَكُمْ وَيُرِيدُ اللّهُ أَن يُحِقَّ الحَقَّ بِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَيَقْطَعَ دَابِرَ الْكَافِرِينَ

7. And when Allah promised you one of the two parties, that it should be for you, you wished that the unarmed one should be yours, but Allah wanted to justify the truth according to His words and to cut off the roots of the unbelievers.

Muḥammad’s scouts actually captured two men at night (apparently

slaves[443]) who were drawing water at Badr and later, back at the Muslim camp, interrogated them to learn which group they were from: the caravan or the fighting force. When the scouts beat the watermen in front of Muḥammad, disbelieving their statement that they were from the fighting force and not the caravan, the watermen changed their story and falsely said they were from the caravan. Muḥammad stopped his companions, pointing out that, when they beat the young men, the men lied to end the beating, but when they were left alone, they told the truth.[444]

Muḥammad himself engaged with the two men, asking where the Quraysh force was, to which they replied that it was close, on the other side of a nearby hill. They were unable to say how strong the force was, so Muḥammad asked how many camels they slaughtered each day. When they said nine or ten, Muḥammad reasoned that the force probably numbered between nine hundred and a thousand warriors.[445] This is the figure commonly used by most Islamic historians as the total present at the battle, despite the fact that it ignores the withdrawal of the Banū Zuhra and Banū ʻAdī ibn Kaʻb, which would have reduced the original number that marched out from Mecca — which al-Wāqidī unambiguously puts at 950 ("They went out with nine hundred and fifty fighters")[446] — by two or even three hundred. That would mean that Muḥammad faced around 700 to 750.[447] Given that the watermen told Muḥammad that the number of animals slaughtered each day, the total figure of around 950 would have made sense, but the water carriers might not have mentioned to Muḥammad that the Quraysh were eating luxuriously every night and welcoming local tribesmen to their banquets.[448] Indeed, the Quraysh were not travelling frugally like the members of trade caravans, much less like a war party of the kind Muḥammad had been sending out. They were logistically sophisticated, and organized a pre-arranged series of nightly grand feasts, to be seen and esteemed by the peoples whose lands they were travelling through, with meat provided by pre-appointed "feeders" (مطعمون, *muṭʻimūn*). Al-Wāqidī names all these "feeders," thus inadvertently confirming how logistically experienced the Quraysh were compared to the Muslims at that stage, who certainly could not afford to slaughter camels each night.[449]

Perhaps al-Wāqidī was mistaken in saying that 950 had departed from

Mecca and the same 950 later fought, even after the two clans had withdrawn. Or perhaps 1,100 or 1,200 originally left Mecca, which, after the two clans had gone home, left 950. In truth, the sources are not much help, and we should resist an automatic desire to want the Muslim victory to seem grander by taking the highest figure. There is no way to arrive at an uncontestable figure, and it probably does not matter. Either way, Muḥammad was clearly going to face a vastly larger and stronger force than his own, which must have come as a grim and unwelcome realization. The seriousness of the Meccan commitment really sank in when he asked the watermen which Quraysh leaders had marched out against him. Learning that, in fact, virtually all the key leaders had, Muḥammad informed his people that "This *is* Mecca! It has presented you with its liver," meaning the choicest piece of meat to eat.[450] Then, discovering from the watermen the satisfying news that the Banū Zuhra and Banū ʻAdī ibn Kaʻb had withdrawn and returned home, Muḥammad set his mind to the planning of the battle that now looked inescapable sometime after dawn broke.

The Battle Looms Some critics of Islam suggest that, because Muḥammad chose to fight at Badr when he had the choice not to, "the battle cannot be viewed as a Muslim defensive war" or even a war for the expansion of Islam.[451] Writers taking this position base their argument upon the fact that Muḥammad had caused the battle by attempting to raid the caravan for booty. The Meccans had not themselves ever attacked the Muslims in Medina, they point out, even as a response to the Nakhla raid that had grieved them so much and cost them a great deal financially. Muḥammad had now provoked this battle by greedily and aggressively attempting to take the Meccan's wealth. Yet even now the Meccans really did not want to fight and only anticipated creating a show of strength. Evidence for their desire to avoid violence — writers upholding this view say — includes Abū Sufyān's successful attempt to elude the Muslims, rather than stand and fight, and then the Meccan relief force's heated debate about whether to proceed

after learning that the caravan was safe.[452] Ayman S. Ibrahim, reflecting this view, and dismantling his own straw-man argument that the raid was intended as religious *da'wah*, writes that Badr "cannot be viewed as religiously motivated, since one cannot find any stated or implied religious aspect behind its launch."[453] He concludes that "Badr was a strategic battle, well planned and meticulous plotted by the Prophet and his warriors."

Without intending any religious apologia in response, it must be said, from a historical point of view, that this critical position forms an inaccurate explanation. Muḥammad had never intended the raid as *da'wah*, and Islamic scholars do not say he did. It should be clear from the evidence presented in the previous chapter that he had sought to raid the Quraysh caravan according to the widely understood norms of his time, which attributed no immorality to the act itself and did not cast raiding as theft. Raiding was a ubiquitous practice and Muḥammad did only what was being done all around him as a manly, honorable and esteemed struggle. Far from the Battle of Badr being "well planned and meticulously plotted," it only transformed from an encounter battle, involving opposing forces fighting suddenly after meeting unexpectedly, into a pitched battle, because each side learned of the other's whereabouts too late in the day to fight immediately. They would fight the next day. This gave them a slender window of time to think about how to position themselves. If by "strategic," Ibrahim means that Muhamad intended and orchestrated a battle, he is completely mistaken. The realization that a major battle was imminent came as an unpleasant surprise to Muḥammad, who nonetheless made the very best out of a bad situation. A poem attributed to Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza, recorded for posterity by Ibn Hishām, explains how things transpired: The night they [Meccans] all set out for Badr / And became death's pawns at its wells / We had sought only their caravan, nothing else / But they came to us and we met by chance / When we met there was no way to get out of it / Except with a thrust from tawny straight shafts / And a blow with swords which severed their heads / Swords that shone as they smote.[454]

Muḥammad had always known, of course, that any raid could turn into a

battle if the men guarding the caravan or herd decided to stand and fight. But there were reportedly only around forty guards on Abū Sufyān's large caravan, who were mainly there to protect the caravan from small bandit gangs. It was thus never likely that they would fight to the death against a force of over three hundred or that any or many of the guards would have died if they had merely made a token defence before asking for and receiving, according to the norms, the mercy of the raiders. Of course, the Quraysh had every right to oppose a raid that they uncovered and to dispatch a force to save their wealth. This is precisely what happened. The Quraysh adopted an offensive posture to drive away through intimidation, or to fight in battle, the raiders who were after the caravan. Yet it must be noted that, after learning that the Muslim raiders had failed to reach the caravan, which had safely passed beyond the danger zone, the Meccans still advanced against the raiders. Far stronger and better armed, the Meccans were now the attackers and the Muslims the defenders.

Muḥammad could have withdrawn, of course, rather than stay and fight. But his force was exhausted from the lightly provisioned march from Medina, and, with camels crowded with riders and people walking, it could not have escaped the lighter-loaded camels of the well-provisioned attackers if they, the Meccans, had chosen to pursue them. Any pursuit would have likely resulted in innumerable Muslim deaths and probably the capture of some or all of the survivors. And even if Muḥammad's force had escaped, his reputation as a respectable and worthy Arab leader would not have survived. He would always be the one who fled ignobly. How then could he ever command respect and build the community which would, he planned, usher in a better future for everyone?

The March dawn in 624 that followed a rainy night revealed a sandy valley floor that had become drenched and infirm in places. Al-Wāqidī attributes this to God and claims that the saturated sand limited the forward progress of the Meccans' camels without slowing the march into position of the Muslims.[455] Actually, given that camel-riders ordinarily rode to battle before dismounting to form their line and fight on foot (unlike raiding where they probably stayed mounted unless defenders put up a stout fight), this wet ground probably had less impact on the battle than some commentators, wanting to highlight miraculous divine intervention, suggest. The Qur'ān mentions the rain, but depicts its role as a purification,

without mentioning any physical benefit in terms of the battlefield.[456] Either way, the Muslims were able to establish their position first, choosing an advantageous location near the northeastern end of the valley. Certainly Muḥammad "arranged his companions in lines *before* the Quraysh arrived" at the southern end.[457]

Shūrā

Like all good leaders in Arabia, Muḥammad was a consultative decision-maker, and asked his people where he should position his lines at Badr to gain the best advantage. The Arabs called this practice *Shūrā* (شُورَىٰ), a form of peer consultation and participatory decision-making with origins that predate the coming of Islam.[458] *Shūrā* rejects any notion that leaders are somehow so privileged or imbued with so much wisdom that they need not listen to their people. Quite the opposite, it involves the discussion of problems or issues by peer groups with a view to determining a way forward through dialogue, respectful debate and collective decision-making. It seems ideally suited to tribal societies, where members of different tribes and clans can meet as peers to decide matters of mutual concern, or where elders within a tribe can meet to provide advice or act as agents of accountability for a chief.

The Qur'ān presents *Shūrā* as an important social function for *all* people everywhere and as a necessary means of gaining wisdom. It places *Shūrā* alongside prayer and charity as essential human behavior. *Sūrah al-Shūrā* 42:38 says: وَالَّذِينَ اسْتَجَابُوا لِرَبِّهِمْ وَأَقَامُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَأَمْرُهُمْ شُورَى بَيْنَهُمْ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ.

> 38. And those who respond to their Lord and keep up prayer, and [manage] their affairs through consultation [شُورَى], and who spend from what We have given them, [will receive reward from Allah].[459]

This sums up the highly consultative style of leadership that Muḥammad tried steadfastly to utilize throughout his twenty-three years of leadership. Despite having a community solemnly sworn to obey him by way of *bay'a*, which he took very seriously, he avoided running roughshod over others and understood that people around him possessed vantage points, ideas and insights that might help him to make stronger decisions than those he could make by himself. His people also had a sense of dignity to nurture, which

could be strengthened by respectful inclusion.

Muḥammad liked good ideas, whomever they came from. He therefore routinely asked for advice, listened dispassionately, praised the contributors, reflected, decided, and then trusted in God. It was not just a process of listening; of gaining advice. As often as he could he sought consensus, to which he acquiesced, and clearly enjoyed participatory decision-making.

Believing that he was both a divinely appointed prophet *and* an ordinary man — "But I am [only] human" (إِنَّمَا أَنَا بَشَرٌ) was a phrase he often used[460] — he remained psychologically able to juggle this inherent tension, and seemed always to know which were his own thoughts and which were thoughts from God that came as revelation. As such, he made it clear that he wanted input from others on matters that he was deciding himself, as opposed to divine direction communicated from heaven. He therefore created an open and safe environment in which people could debate or even contradict him without being seen as disrespectful or disloyal. Far from being an omniscient autocrat, he was an inclusive and consultative decision-maker whose own ideas could be discussed, improved upon, or even constructively criticized.

Indeed, the two earliest extant biographies, Ibn Hishām's *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya* and al-Wāqidī's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, reveal that before almost every major event in his life, including the *Hijra* from Mecca to Medina in 622 CE and the subsequent raids and battles, he consulted with his trusted confidantes. We have already seen how, upon learning that the advancing Meccan force had closed in on him at Badr, the Prophet first discussed options with his inner circle, asking whether they should withdraw or proceed. "Advise me, O people," he had said to the *Muhājirūn* and then to the *Anṣār*, receiving the positive advice that they would honor their *bay'a* pledge to "listen to and obey" and that they would indeed fight if he wished to proceed.

The Battle of Badr now involved another remarkable example of Muḥammad actively seeking and taking advice before making a decision. When he led his three hundred raiders into the sandy valley of Badr, he proposed establishing his camp, and thus his fighting line, at a certain location. He then asked his companions for advice regarding his choice. "Advise me about the placement," he requested.[461] A member of the

Khazraj tribe (and thus one of the *Anṣār*), al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir, asked, “O Messenger of Allah, have you given thought to this site? Has Allah told you that this is the right site? Because if He has, then it is not for us to encourage you or deter you regarding it. Or is it your decision as a tactic of war?”[462]

This might seem impertinent to modern ears, but Muḥammad took no offence. He replied: “It is my own decision as a tactic of war.” Al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir then spoke the truth plainly to the man he saw as God’s messenger: “This is certainly not a good site.”[463] He explained his rationale. They should not set up camp near the closest well, as Muḥammad had intended, but near the best of the farthest wells, which they could exploit for fresh water by creating a rough and ready stone cistern. They should fill up all their water containers, ensuring they had plenty. Then they should block up the only wells left available to the Quraysh, denying them water. Unperturbed that he had not thought of this, and not stung by al-Ḥubab’s criticism of his own choice, Muḥammad readily agreed to a-Ḥubab’s advice. He ordered the warriors to move in front of the specified wells and to block up the others.

Al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir features often and positively throughout the earliest biographies of Muḥammad, and, interestingly, he would later correct the Prophet again regarding the positioning of troops. At the beginning of the Battle of Ṭā’if in February 630, six years after the Battle of Badr, Muḥammad positioned his camp close to the city walls. Once again, al-Ḥubāb challenged the decision, telling him: “O Allah’s Messenger ﷺ, we are really close to the fortress. If this decision was because of Allah’s command, we will submit, but if it’s your own judgment you should move back from the wall.”[464] They were within the defenders’ arrow reach, he explained, and were suffering injuries.

One might think that Muḥammad had put up with this type of correction six years earlier because he was then a novice military commander, and that he had after six years, having won many battles and conquered Mecca, come to see himself as sufficiently expert that such a correction would be annoying. Not only that, but he was a divinely appointed prophet who did not, as the Qur’ān says in *Sūrah al-Najm* 53:3, “speak from his own desires, but only from a revelation brought forth.” (وَمَا يَنطِقُ عَنِ الْهَوَى. إِنْ هُوَ

[465](إِلّا وَحْيٌ يُوحَى Yet the sources reveal no rancor. The humble Muḥammad merely asked al-Ḥubāb to find a better location for them to withdraw to, which he did.

The sources reveal that the siege of Ṭā’if nonetheless did not progress well, and losses were mounting after eighteen difficult days, so Muḥammad sought the advice of Nawfal ibn Mu‘āwiya al-Dili, an accomplished warrior. Should they persist, or break off the siege? Nawfal gave an eloquent reply, explaining that Muḥammad had already forced “the fox into its hole” and that, if Muḥammad persisted, success would eventually come, but if he chose to withdraw, the fox could cause no harm.[466] Muḥammad liked the advice, reflected, and ordered a withdrawal. Other advisors bitterly complained. Having spent over two weeks seeking victory, they thought this was bad advice. Victory was likely to be imminent. Muḥammad remained patient, and accepted the view of the *Shūrā* that they should try one more assault the next morning.[467] It duly failed, with high casualties, so when Muḥammad ordered the withdrawal the companions who had previously demanded another attempt were actually relieved.[468]

This is not to say that Muḥammad always simply deferred to advice. He believed that only someone with a reputation as trustworthy should be consulted or listened to.[469] The “ignorant” should be avoided, because “they give advice based on opinions that will lead others astray.”[470]

Sometimes he listened to advice and then stuck to his original inclination, especially if the advice came outside of a *Shūrā* meeting where he could hear all sides of an issue being debated. For example, at the Battle of Badr another of his companions offered corrective advice about the way Muḥammad had arranged his warriors into lines. He used a similar formula: “O Allah’s Messenger, if this came to you through revelation, then so be it, but if not, I think you should …”.[471] Having already followed al-Ḥubab’s advice, and now being able to see its benefit, the Prophet gently dismissed this new advice. It is significant, of course, that he had created an open environment in which his comrades felt free to offer advice even though they acknowledged him as a divinely chosen prophet.

The most famous example of Muḥammad making a major decision after taking advice relates to the so-called Battle of the Trench. Three years after the Battle of Badr, the Quraysh tribe of Mecca allied with other tribes to

form a substantial military force which advanced upon Muḥammad's city Medina in April 627 with the intention of killing him, or at least ending his influence, once and for all. When Muḥammad learned that a powerful force would soon reach Medina, he assembled his inner circle to learn their assessments and hear their views on how best to respond. Al-Wāqidī says that this has been Muḥammad's practice: "The Messenger of Allah consulted frequently with them on matters of war."[472]

Muḥammad was himself not then inclined to lead the army out of Medina to fight a pitched battle in the Uḥud valley. He had unsuccessfully done that exactly that a year earlier, having at that time agreed to the consensus view of his confidantes over his own clearly expressed preference during a lengthy *Shūrā*.[473] This time, significant debate occurred, doubtless because of fear of a repeat failure.

Salmān al-Fārisī, a Persian convert to Islam, then spoke up, advising Muḥammad that in Persia they had responded to the threat of cavalry attack with entrenchment; that is, by digging a trench that horses could neither jump across nor climb out of. A trench across the valley neck leading into Medina would prevent the enemy entering. This tactic had never been used in Arabia, yet Salmān's suggestion "pleased the Muslims," and thus earned Muḥammad's favor.[474] Seeing consensus, he agreed and ordered the digging of Salmān's trench.[475] The trench proved impassible to the enemy force, which was logistically weak and could not sustain its offensive in the insufferable cold, and thus saved the Muslim polity.

There is only one known major case of Muḥammad opposing the view of a unanimous *Shūrā*. This occurred in 628 CE when he led around 1,400 Muslims from Medina to Mecca in order to undertake an 'Umrah, or "lesser" pilgrimage. The Quraysh tribe in Mecca sent representatives to advise Muḥammad, then camped at al-Ḥudaybiyya outside Mecca, that — despite the Muslims wearing pilgrim garments and carrying only a few weapons for sacrificing animals and deterring bandits — they would not be allowed to proceed to Mecca. After negotiations, Muḥammad chose to resolve the matter through diplomacy rather than warfare, and he authorized the drafting of a treaty between him and the Quraysh.

At each stage of the negotiation process, he consulted with his advisers, but many of them felt that he was acting weakly by having promised them an 'Umrah and now changing his mind. The treaty itself was so one-sided

that it was unworthy of a prophet, as was his spirit of compromise. They told him so; bluntly. Even ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, one of Muḥammad’s closest confidantes and later a political successor, vehemently criticized the Prophet’s decision to accept a negotiated settlement, all the more after Suhayl ibn ‘Amr, a very skilled statesman and mediator representing the Quraysh, would not allow the attributes of Allah, or any reference to Muḥammad being God’s Messenger, to remain in the treaty text.[476]

Displaying enormous moral courage, the Prophet went against the consensus of his advisers, and entered into the treaty with his former enemy, agreeing that a state of peace would exist for ten years and that the Muslims would make their pilgrimage a year later.

It may have required Muḥammad to submit to condescending and ignoble treatment in the short term, but he was sufficiently astute to see what his advisors could not: that he could swallow his pride that day, and surrender the short-term goal of performing pilgrimage in Mecca, in order to secure the far greater long-term political rewards: the Quraysh’s recognition of him as a negotiating equal (that is, that he had become a legitimate leader of a recognized polity that now had the status of a major tribe); a non-aggression agreement, a decade of peace with his intransigent foe; and the right to make pilgrimages in coming years.

If Muḥammad was hurt by his close comrades’ anger and opposition, he did not let that pain damage relations for long. After a Qur’ānic revelation confirmed that the treaty was a “manifest victory” from God (إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحاً مُّبِيناً)[477], Muḥammad fully reconciled with ‘Umar and the other dissenters.[478] Keen to ensure that no emotional wounds remained, a few months later Muḥammad allocated the spoils of war taken at Khaybar to the participants in the march to al-Ḥudaybiyya, including several who were not even present at Khaybar.

The Battle of Badr These future examples of Muḥammad consulting with his *Shūrā* were only possible, of course, because Muḥammad and his followers prevailed against the Meccan war party at Badr on that most famous morning in March 624. The day went very well for the Muslims, but at the beginning an objective observer might not have been able to predict that

successful outcome.

It began with Muḥammad organizing his three hundred warriors into two straight ranks (lines across the battlefield), one tightly behind the other. It was clear to everyone that he was in charge and now the only decision-maker, and that he saw his warriors as united by faith, yet like any seventh century Arab sheikh he arranged his ranks at Badr according to tribal affiliation. He would later also do this whenever his hunt-and-pounce raids turned into linear battles[479], and he did it during all later pitched battles. At Badr, the two main groups of the *Anṣār* — the Banū Khazraj and the Banū Aws — each fought in their own sections of the line, under their own leaders, while the *Muhājirūn* formed the third section.[480] Each unit had its own flag (essentially a large colored cloth tied to a long spear) and its own war-cry.[481]

Demonstrating an appalling knowledge of history, some Muslim writers claim that Muḥammad introduced this tactic into Arabia — that is, organizing warriors into a line — for the first time. This belief might come from the Qur'ān's praise for this tactic in the chapter aptly called "The Row" (*Sūrah al-Ṣaff* 61:4): "Indeed Allah loves those who fight in his cause in a row as though they were a single joined-up structure." (إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ صَفّاً كَأَنَّهُم بُنيَانٌ مَّرْصُوصٌ). Or perhaps this belief comes from the great Medieval polymath, Ibn Khaldūn, who claimed in his famous *Muqaddimah* that "War at the beginning of Islam was fought in rows, although the Arabs had [previously] known only the technique of attack and withdrawal" (الكر والفر, i.e. the ambush and swift disengagement that defined raiding).[482] Ibn Khaldūn contradicts himself by then explaining that the enemies of the first Muslims "fought in rows, so they were thus forced to fight them in the same way."[483] This makes no sense: when the Muslims fought in a line at Badr, their enemies were fellow Arabs, direct family to many of them, from Mecca. They were thus the same people with the exact same traditions. Yet many Muslim writers have continued to claim that Muḥammad was the first to introduce fighting in ranks to the Arabs. To quote one recent book on his art of war:

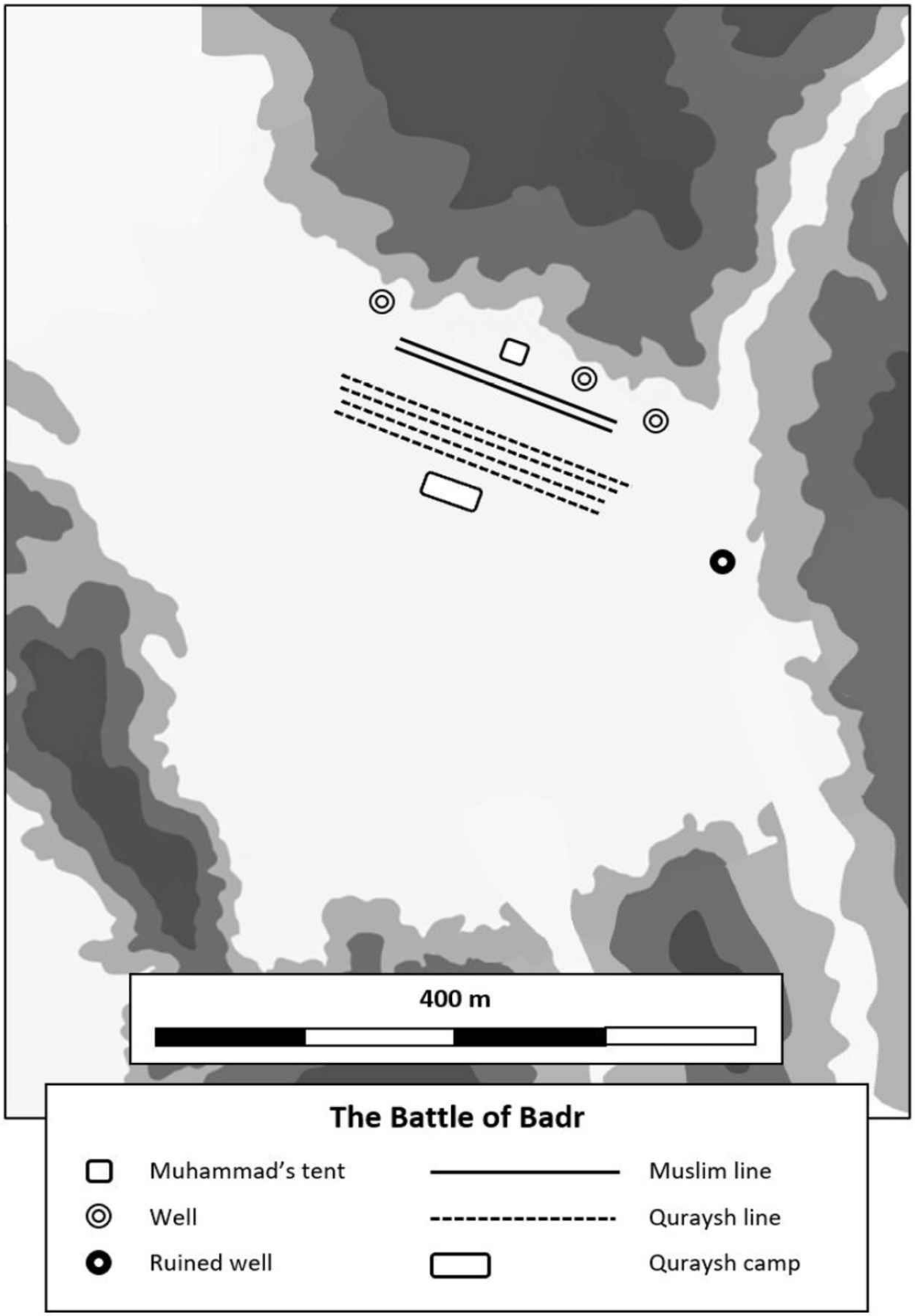

Figure 5. The Battle of Badr

Figure 3: The Battle of Badr

> The Noble Prophet (s), by his own acumen, devised new methods in the 'art of warfare' … On this basis, in the Battle of Badr, he initiated battle formations. … The Holy Prophet invented a new form of arrangement and organization of the ranks with a specific order, and this technique has also been used in more recent wars and especially in World War II.[484]

On the contrary, lining up warriors into straight ranks like Muḥammad did at Badr was as old as history, and was of course a feature of the pre-Islamic pitched battles that occurred intermittently between the seemingly endless raids that better suited the Arab warriors' natures and resources. Al-Ṭabarī and other writers describe the famous Battle of Dhū Qār in or around 609 CE, when Arabs warriors mainly from clans of the Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il lined up in ranks against a stronger force of Persians and their Arab auxiliaries and inflicted upon them an unexpected defeat.[485] We also know, for example, that during the pre-Islamic Battle of al-Kulāb in or around 611 CE, both sides lined up opposite each other and began their hostilities by calling the war-cries across the lines to each other.[486] One Arab warrior-poet from a different location praises his horse like this: "We carry upon her our arms nobly in every fight, when the closely-serried host stands face to face with the [enemy's] line."[487] Indeed, pre-Islamic Arabian poetry is full of allusions to soldiers tightly lined up, shoulder to shoulder in what translators often rendered as the "serried [i.e. lined-up] array," hoping that they possessed the fortitude and steadiness to protect the line and close any gaps that might form. "And many the dreaded breach where we stood as its defenders," writes one proud poet, "when all except us shrank in fear from standing there / We made our bulwarks there our swords and our spears and the mail-coats of iron rings strung together".[488] Leaving the line through fear was seen as a serious source of shame.[489] For example, "The men of al-Aus stood serried there 'neath his charger's breast … Yea, none but the warrior brave stood fast in that deadly close, all dyed red with blood that flowed from edges of whetted blades."[490] Another poet mocks those who break, calling them "the vile," adding that even death "allows no quitting of place".[491]

Al-Wāqidī even tells us that the Battle of Badr was not the first time that

Muslim warriors were arranged into ranks to fight. During the very first raiding party that Muḥammad sent out from Medina, led in his absence by his uncle Ḥamza ibn ‘Abdul-Muṭṭalib, the three hundred opponents, commanded by none other than Abū Jahl, lined up for battle, prompting the thirty Muslims to do likewise. At that moment, Majdī ibn ‘Amr, an ally of both parties, negotiated a mutual back-down for both sides, with no fighting occurring and no-one suffering a loss of face.[492]

That is not to say that Muḥammad was wrong to organize his force into two close ranks. It made perfect sense, and he organized his line effectively and with confidence. He walked the length of the front rank, straightening it with an arrow, gently moving one warrior back and another forward until he felt satisfied. He knew that battles came shortly after dawn and that the morning sun would be behind his men and thus in the eyes of his opponents.

When the Muslims looked across the valley as the Quraysh war party arrived, they were on relatively level ground and were therefore unable to see the depth of the ranks assembling behind the Quraysh front line. The Muslims were thus unable to see how greatly outnumbered they were, and were not panicked. The Qur’ān refers to this in *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:44: وَإِذْ يُرِيكُمُوهُمْ إِذِ الْتَقَيْتُمْ فِي أَعْيُنِكُمْ قَلِيلاً وَيُقَلِّلُكُمْ فِي أَعْيُنِهِمْ لِيَقْضِيَ اللّهُ أَمْراً كَانَ مَفْعُولاً وَإِلَى اللّهِ تُرْجَعُ الأُمُورُ

> 44. And when He showed them to you when you met, He showed them to you as few in your eyes, and He made you appear as few in their eyes, so that Allah might accomplish a matter already destined. For to Allah do all matters return.

Muḥammad was nonetheless very concerned about the enemy’s horses and prayed to God about “the Quraysh arriving with their horses and their glory … Destroy them this morning.”[493] Cavalry could seriously hurt his chances of success if it could get behind one of his flanks. Thankfully, Muḥammad had kept his force back toward the valley wall with little space behind which cavalry could enter. As it happened, we have little evidence that the Meccan armor-dressed horsemen played any role of significance. This may be because the Badr valley floor was — and still is — carpeted in deep and strangely soft sand, which would have caused difficulties for horses with their small hooves. Ibn Hishām makes much of the fact that the nighttime

rain might have made this soft sand muddy, thus seriously inhibiting the movements of the Quraysh.[494] Yet he misses the point that, in fact, even dry, Badr's thick sand would have impeded the swift movement of horses.

Muḥammad's companions had created for him a tent, really a type of shady hut, made from palm branches. It would be wrong to see this as a command post in a modern sense. Al-Wāqidī strangely says that it was a "resting place," whereas Ibn Hishām says that Muḥammad's companions wanted him to remain somewhere safe, protected by the Aws leader Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh and bodyguards, with his riding camels close by in case the battle went badly and he would have to flee.[495] The creation of a tent or hut for Muḥammad may actually have had the opposite intention; to signal Muḥammad's determination to stay and fight. Al-Ṭabarī reports that during the Battle of Dhū Qār in what is now 'Irāq — a celebrated event that Muḥammad knew well[496], it having occurred only thirteen years or so before Badr — the heroic Arab leader Ḥanẓala ibn Tha'laba ibn Sayyār al-'Ijlī had a tent erected in front of the much stronger Persian-led coalition force and vowed that he would not flee unless his tent fled.[497]

Certainly, Muḥammad used the tent or hut as a prayer room during the battle, and fervently beseeched God for assistance. As noted above, al-Wāqidī says that Muḥammad had been "frightened" (ففزع, possibly "shocked") by the first appearance of the much larger Meccan force, but this acute anxiety was gradually calmed by both the steadiness of his companion Abū Bakr and by his own conviction that God had heard his prayers.[498] Whether he had actually been frightened or merely shocked is now conjectural, because it was in this makeshift prayer hut that the Prophet called down the one thousand angels that Muslims believe turned the battle in their favor. He had already told his men to hold their fire until he gave the signal, and then only to fire arrows at the Quraysh warriors, holding back from close combat until the enemy closed upon them.[499]

The battle began according to Arab norms, with each side — now that the Quraysh had moved its line up within shouting distance of the Muslims — jeering at each other and then calling for their respective champions to step forward for the single contests that preceded the inevitable bloody pressing together of the two lines. Like in the biblical story of David and Goliath, and in the recent Dhū Qār battle, when Burd ibn Ḥāritha al-Yashkurī slew

the Persian general Al-Hāmarz[500], the single combat of champions was a celebrated and legend-forming part of battle.

Even at this late stage, at metaphorically one minute to twelve, not all the Quraysh were hellbent on fighting. ‘Utba ibn Rabī‘a, one of the Quraysh leaders who had marched out reluctantly, even now wanted to avoid a battle. He offered to pay the blood money on Muḥammad’s behalf to ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī’s brother ‘Āmir, thus making revenge unnecessary. Abū Jahl mocked his rival ‘Utba and, along with ‘Āmir, shamed him into withdrawing the offer.[501] He then ridiculed ‘Utba for talking “cowardly nonsense,”[502] claiming in front of the people that, rather than ‘Utba being hungry for honour, he was only hungry for barley.[503] Abū Jahl and ‘Utba had apparently long competed for prestige and reputation in Mecca, and, although Abū Jahl rejoiced in besting ‘Utba on this occasion, their petty rivalry ironically caused the death of both of them in the battle that ensued.

For ‘Utba, death came first. Shamed and ridiculed, he strutted forward and, hoping to restore his diminished reputation, called out to the Muslims to send a champion forward to fight him. On each side of him were his brother Shayba and his son al-Walīd. The Sīrah sources are unkind to ‘Utba and report that his head was so massive that no helmet could be found to fit it. This is probably an apocryphal addition. ‘Utba was a powerful tribal elder who certainly would have left Mecca with his own armor and weapons. Indeed, al-Wāqidī says he wore his own coat of mail.[504]

Three young men from the *Anṣār* (from Banū Khazraj[505]) strode forward to accept their challenge. The sources disagree on why those three promptly returned to the Muslim line, replaced by three from the *Muhājirūn*. Al-Wāqidī records both opinions: with one view being that Muḥammad called them back, believing it best for the Meccans to face their own kin, from the *Muhājirūn*, who were entitled to avenge their early maltreatment and expulsion from Mecca; the other view is that ‘Utba himself called out across the lines that his brother, son and he should fight only former Meccans, rather than *Anṣār* fighters from Medina, because the *Anṣār* were of unequal status.[506] If the latter occurred, which Ibn Hishām seems to confirm, it is more plausible that ‘Utba’s intention was to address the issue of revenge for ‘Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, slain at Nakhla, which required the killing of *Muhājirūn*, not *Anṣār*. ‘Utba told the three *Anṣār* warriors: “We have nothing to do with you”.[507] Moreover, wanting to fight only *Muhājirūn*

might have been to minimize the likelihood of an unnecessary blood feud between Mecca and Medina. After all, if the Meccans could defeat the Muslims, the non-Muslims in Medina would surely return to their easy relationship with Mecca.

The three Muslims whom Muḥammad then sent to face off against ‘Utba, Shayba and al-Walīd were Ḥamza ibn ‘Abdul-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad’s uncle, ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, his nephew and son-in-law, and ‘Ubayda ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Abdul-Muṭṭalib ibn ‘Abd Manāf, a distant relative who had led the second of the raids Muḥammad had sent out. ‘Utba deemed them suitable and told Ḥamza, who had identified himself as the “Lion of Allah and His Prophet,” that he too was a lion: “the Lion of the Forest”. Ḥamza and ‘Alī made quick work of Shayba and al-Walīd, while the two oldest duelists, ‘Ubayda and ‘Utba seemed to struggle more, and inflicted disabling wounds upon each other.[508] Ḥamza and ‘Alī then moved across to engage the wounded ‘Utba, the self-titled Lion of the Forest. They killed him before carrying ‘Ubayda back to the Muslim line, where, knowing that he could not survive a severed lower leg, he asked Muḥammad if he would enter Paradise as a martyr. Muḥammad confirmed that he would.

With the preliminaries over, the battle itself commenced. Muḥammad had emphasized the killing power of well-aimed arrows, and had prepared and positioned his archers carefully and instructed them not to fire until the battle started. It therefore happened that the first arrows fired were actually by the Quraysh, not the Muslim, archers. The opening Quraysh volley killed Mihja’, a free servant of Muḥammad’s close companion ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, becoming the first Muslim ever to die in battle when a Quraysh arrow struck him.[509] Then an arrow killed Ḥāritha ibn Surāqa while he was drinking at the hastily created cistern.[510] The earliest sources do not say how many Quraysh warriors died or were wounded when the Muslim archers returned their own volleys. Then the Quraysh warriors advanced against the Muslim line.

It was time to unleash hell. Muḥammad, who broke off prayers in his tent for a time to inspire his men, loudly proclaimed that anyone who died while fighting without fleeing would be guaranteed a place in Paradise. This had an immediate and powerful effect upon his warriors. Cursing the Quraysh, Muḥammad symbolically cast a handful of pebbles towards them. Muslims believe that at this moment an army of either one thousand or three

thousand angels, also fighting in ranks, descended upon the Quraysh and fought alongside the Muslims.[511] The earliest narrative sources, except for Ibn Rāshid's *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, describe angelic intervention, with al-Wāqidī and his student and secretary Ibn Sa'd doing so colorfully at length, with claims that many of the Muslims saw and heard the angels, mounted on heavenly horses, and were even able to describe what the angels wore.[512] Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī are content merely to say that, while beseeching God in his tent, Muḥammad stated happily that the angel Jibrīl had arrived on his horse.[513] They later mention in passing that uninvolved Bedouins, watching the battle from a nearby hill and waiting to join the inevitable looting, heard and saw angels appear.[514] Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī also quote a verse in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:9) which asks believers at a later period of doubt to remember the angelic intervention at Badr: إِذْ تَسْتَغِيثُونَ رَبَّكُمْ فَاسْتَجَابَ لَكُمْ أَنِّي مُمِدُّكُم بِأَلْفٍ مِّنَ الْمَلآئِكَةِ مُرْدِفِينَ

> 9. When you were imploring your Lord, He answered you, "Indeed, I am going to reinforce you with a thousand of the angels, following closely one upon another."[515]

Some writers believe that the reason Muḥammad waited for the Quraysh to attack the Muslims first at Badr was because of his insistence that he only fought defensively, and thus always morally. Epitomizing this position, Reza Aslan writes of Muḥammad's "outright prohibition of all but strictly defensive wars … Badr became the first opportunity for Muḥammad to put the theory of jihad into practice … Muḥammad refused to fight until attacked."[516]

This claim flies in the face of the evidence, and comes from the authors wanting Muḥammad's conduct to conform to a modern anachronistic belief that warfare was always unwanted and that offensive warfare was always considered unprincipled. This was certainly not the case at the time of Muḥammad, who had already initiated a series of offensive raids, and would go on to lead or send out scores more. From a tactical perspective, Muḥammad knew that offensive action was necessary to gain the initiative and achieve an outcome. Yet, with his force at Badr greatly outnumbered, he intuitively understood or was advised that on this occasion he would maximize his chances of success if his warriors strictly held their line and did not break into any non-contiguous groups. This would force the

Meccans to do the same, fighting in an opposite line, which, with no possibility of turning flanks, would prevent the Meccans from utilizing their greater numbers in the rear. Only so many warriors could be fighting in the first ranks, so it would not matter much if they had a depth of ranks behind the front line. Until they lost significant numbers from the first ranks, which would probably decide the battle's outcome anyway, those behind could not get forward. And if man-for-man the Muslims proved better in that tight line-to-line press, and killed noticeably more Meccans than they themselves lost, the Meccans behind their slain comrades would probably feel defeated and lose their courage and resolve. That was exactly what happened.

The earliest extant sources tell us that, with shouts of their war-cry "O victorious, kill!" resounding[517], the Muslims routed the Meccans, defeating them overwhelmingly by killing and wounding many, taking others prisoner and forcing the rest to flee from the battlefield. Al-Wāqidī mentions that the Meccan defeat came after "the sun had moved beyond its highest point," meaning mid-day.[518] This is unlikely. The small number of casualties on both sides testifies that this was not a long battle, so al-Wāqidī is probably referring to the battle, the subsequent subjugation of the prisoners, the collection of weapons and booty, and the burial of the dead taking until the afternoon.

Most Muslim writers, and certainly the earliest extant narrative sources that they draw upon, state that during the combat itself Muḥammad remained praying in his tent, accompanied by Abū Bakr, his closest friend, and surrounded by his bodyguards.[519] The exception was when the two lines closed and he came out of his tent and prayed at or near the front to rouse the troops before returning to his intense supplications.[520] Yet he did not fight.[521] This is very reasonable, given that he was a prophet who believed that God's intervention was the only way this battle could be won. We know from later battles that he was physically very courageous, and came close to death in battle on a number of occasions, so no one can cast aspersions on his bravery. Yet at Badr that was not what he saw as most important. Invoking the support of his God was. He prayed the Muslims to victory. That has not stopped many writers from fancifully portraying him fighting among the warriors in the hand-to-hand combat. Mohammad Ahmed Bashumail typifies this trend by writing that Muḥammad fought "in the very thick of it … he led the Muslims to the very heart of the battle-field

where they swept all who came in their way. He fought dauntlessly in the front ranks," all the while quoting Qur'ān.[522] This never happened.

Although later sources — especially those from the late 'Abbāsid period — present a lot of detail about tactical maneuvers, we cannot verify the accuracy of those details because they are speculative, absent from the earliest narrative sources, and rare and undetailed in the *aḥādīth*, which tell us only about the nature of the fighting and not about military tactics. The earliest narrative sources say that, after the duels came the exchanges of arrows, which had their deadly effect. Then the violent press of lines occurred, with the Muslims "shielding each other in rows so tight that there were no gaps".[523] This period was dominated first by hand-to-hand fighting with thrusting spears (the traditional "spear-play"), and then, when the Meccan line seems to have separated, and Meccan groups became non-contiguous, the savage stabbing, hacking and slicing with swords took place. "In their hands were sharp swords and well-tested spear shafts with thick [bamboo] knots," one Muslim poet quoted by Ibn Hishām wrote, boasting that they fought "like lions young and old".[524] Al-Wāqidī provides individual snapshots of the battle, with so-and-so killing so-and-so. Although many passages are gorier, with severed heads rolling and limbs being hacked off — passages that strikingly resemble and use the very same literary devices, metaphors and similes as pre-Islamic Arabic accounts and poetry — this short description illustrates the nature of the fighting: I had my spear and he [Umayya ibn Khalaf] had his. We spontaneously went at each other until our spears fell. Then we took to the swords and we struck with them until their edges were deeply notched. Then I saw a gap in his armor and I pierced him with my sword until I killed him.[525]

Muḥammad had asked for his men to spare as many as they could of the Meccans from Banū Hashim, his own clan, not because he saw their lives as more important than anyone else's, but because he believed many of them had been coerced into marching north with the other Meccans. He also asked for the sparing of his paternal uncle al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and certain other Meccan leaders who had never opposed or oppressed Muslims, or had even protected Muslims before the *Hijra*.[526] One of Muḥammad's warriors bridled at this, alleging favoritism and promising not to comply with the instruction. He later admitted to feeling ashamed of his anger. As it happened, in the heat of battle it was not always possible to

identify the protected people and some of them were killed.

Particularly villainous Meccans were targeted and killed in the battle, including Abū Jahl, who died bravely and defiantly despite his enduring reputation for wickedness. Indeed, when the violence ended and the Muslims found themselves the surprising victors, they learned that they had killed most of the Meccan leaders who had marched out against them and that their own losses, fourteen killed, were far fewer than the number of Meccans killed, whose bodies lay strewn across the battlefield. The other Meccans had fled the battlefield without attempting to regroup and fight again, prompting the Islamic chroniclers to quote participants mocking them for "running away like women."[527]

The early narrative sources disagree about the number of Meccans killed and taken prisoner at Badr, with figures for those killed estimated at between forty-nine and seventy and those taken prisoner between forty-nine and seventy-four.[528] Yet it appears that the figures were rounded out by the time that the canonical *ḥadīth* collections had emerged in the ninth century to say that seventy Meccans were killed and seventy were taken alive, figures neatly corresponding to the number of Muslims killed and wounded at the Battle of Uḥud in March 625, a year after Badr.[529] If we accept these rounded figures as approximately correct, then we have 14 Muslims killed out of around 305 warriors present at Badr, which is 4.5%, and 70 Meccans killed out of 950, which is 7.4%. If we accept that the pre-battle departure of the two clans left the Meccan force with between 700 and 750 warriors, then 70 dead would be around 10%, which is more impressive from the Muslim perspective.

Thus, despite one recent writer claiming that the battle "was fought with extreme brutality," neither side suffered terrible losses, and the Muslims' combat effectiveness (if we use killing rates as the basis of a ratio) was not dramatically better than that of the Quraysh.[530] It was, all things considered, a low-casualty affair. Yet when one includes the facts that the Muslims also captured some seventy Meccans, with no Muslims themselves being taken, and killed many of the Meccan elders, the one-sidedness must be considered a remarkable achievement. Moreover, in terms of what mattered most — which side would claim victory and therefore earn the admiration of the tribes in the Ḥijāz, which side would feel justified about its mission and empowered to continue it, and, most importantly for the participants,

which side would gain the lucrative spoils of war — Badr was an immense success for the Muslims and an abject failure for the Meccans.

The battlefield was ripe for looting. The booty included 150 camels, ten horses, and a wealth of chain mail and weapons, not to mention prisoners who could be ransomed for extravagant sums. It also included mercantile goods (including leather products, clothes and luxurious fabrics[531]) that the Quraysh, a merchant people, had brought with them to sell or trade on their way north to Badr.

The victors had begun to strip armor off victims before the battle had ended.[532] This was called the *salab* (سَلَبْ, the armor, weapons, clothing and personal effects stripped off the slain and taken as spoils[533]), which was a traditional feature of Arab raiding and especially of battle. As noted, armor and weapons were enormously expensive, and this immediate source of wealth was a significant incentive to fight. Ordinarily in Arabia, leaders retained the prerogative to decide who would get what, but they generally let warriors keep the *salab* of the enemies they had personally killed. Muḥammad would usually follow this practice, except in large and chaotic battles where it was impossible to know who had killed whom, or when two or more warriors claimed to have killed the same person. In such cases, he ordered the *salab* to be gathered and later distributed centrally as part of the main booty (*ghanīma*, which ordinarily meant prisoners and captured women and children, animals, and supplies).

In any event, taking the *salab* before the battle was even won was entirely counterproductive. Experienced or older warriors told them to stop; to secure victory first. Then, when the fighting finished, the victors immediately jostled to take what they believed was rightfully theirs: the possessions of the enemy warriors they had slain or captured, the armor discarded by those who fled, and whichever animals they managed to get to first, not to mention the armor, clothes and weapons on any corpses that they reached first. It became an ugly situation, with Muslim warriors greedily trying to take as much *salab* as they could. It immediately became highly disputatious. Even the members of Muḥammad's bodyguard complained that, because they had stayed at his tent to protect him while he prayed there throughout the battle, they would miss out on the booty.[534]

Most of the warriors were from the *Anṣār* (including Muḥammad's

bodyguards) and many were very new converts to Muḥammad's religion. Although they were genuine in their faith and unquestionably saw Muḥammad as a prophet, the transformational power of religion upon their minds and hearts was still in its initial stages. The earliest Islamic sources do not try to gloss over the greed and competitiveness of the victorious Muslims at Badr. On the contrary, with a frankness that supports the sources being accurate on this point, the sources speak explicitly about the "evil of the human nature," to quote Ibn Hishām, of those who "squabbled about the booty".[535] Ibn Hishām quotes 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit as admitting that Allah responded to their "evil disposition" by taking the matter of who got what out of the Muslims' own hands and giving it to Muḥammad.[536] Al-Wāqidī says the same thing[537], as does al-Ṭabarī, who notes how ill-behaved they became to each other before Muḥammad stepped in to calm them, control the situation, and develop an equitable solution.[538]

Muḥammad's herald had declared the basic principle that whoever killed a man owned the *salab*, and that whoever took a prisoner got the *fidyah*, the ransom. But this had not stopped the squabbling, with some warriors even claiming to have killed the same person.[539] Muḥammad therefore declared that this rancorous situation was unacceptable. He would himself decide the allocation of booty. If anyone had already taken anything, it had to be returned.[540] It would all be collected centrally, and strictly guarded, so that he could, after deducting his rightful fifth, divide the total equally among all the participants at Badr and a small number of fellow Muslims (most sources say eight) who had been unable to attend but had supported the raid in other ways. Allah, he told them, had chosen this course of action in a new Qur'ānic revelation (*Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:1): يَسْأَلُونَكَ عَنِ الْأَنْفَالِ قُلِ الْأَنْفَالُ لِلَّهِ وَالرَّسُولِ فَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَأَصْلِحُوا ذَاتَ بَيْنِكُمْ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ

> 1. They ask you [Muḥammad] about the spoils of war. Tell them: "The spoils are for Allah and the Messenger. So, fear Allah and put right the matters between you, and obey Allah and His Messenger, if you are believers."[541]

To everyone's surprise, scores of Meccans who had been defeated in battle but had not fled quickly enough were now in the Muslims' custody as prisoners. Their hands were tightly bound behind their backs with

bowstrings. Muḥammad would decide what to do with them. Traditional Arabian options included the execution of prisoners if a blood feud existed (for example, the Ghaṭafān had captured and executed 84 men of the Banū ʻĀmir ibn Ṣaʻṣaʻah at the pre-Islamic Battle of Al-Raqam[542]) or, more commonly[543], their freeing after they or their families paid what the sources call "ransom," which provided a major source of revenue. Muḥammad had previously accepted ransom payments for the two Meccans taken prisoner on the Nakhla raid, but they were merely caravan guards who had fought defensively and not initiated hostilities.[544] The scores of prisoners taken at Badr, on the other hand, had marched out to attack the Muslims.

Ransoming was Muḥammad's decision after he consulted with his closest confidantes. Al-Wāqidī says that the angel Jibrīl had offered Muḥammad the choice, which he communicated to his friends.[545] Abū Bakr had recommended ransoming and ʻUmar recommended execution, and the Prophet, after asking for the opinions of the rest of the warriors, chose the former. His logic was two-fold: first, the ransom money would greatly reward Muslims for their struggle and assist the development of his religious mission; and second, even badly misguided humans were not necessarily irredeemable. Some of the ransomed prisoners might actually soften towards Islam. "Allah the Almighty is capable of hardening the heart until it is like stone," he explained, "but he is also able to melt hearts until they are soft like butter."[546] He therefore instructed that, until the ransoms were paid, which began immediately but took weeks to conclude, the prisoners were to be treated well.[547]

Muḥammad instituted an easy and flexible ransom scheme, which he personally oversaw. He set a standard price for ransom at 4,000 dirhams, yet he actually only imposed this upon the families of the richest prisoners. Families of less affluent prisoners were asked to pay 3,000, 2,000 or even 1,000 dirhams. The poorest would pay nothing at all.[548] All they needed to do was promise not fight Muslims again in the future. Muḥammad even released a few prisoners who had no money to pay their own ransom, but could read, if they would teach some of his illiterate warriors.[549] Zaynab, Muḥammad's own daughter, bought the freedom of her husband Abū al-ʻĀs ibn al-Rabīʻ with the offer of a necklace that had belonged to the Prophet's beloved first wife Khadija. Learning of this, the deeply-moved Prophet had the necklace returned and then freed Abū l-'Ās upon his promise that

Zaynab could come to him in Medina.[550] The way in which Muḥammad rolled out the ransom system is consistent with what he had pledged in the so-called Constitution of Medina, which had stated that every constituent tribe would "ransom prisoners with the kindness and justice common among believers" ("يفدون عانيهم بالمعروف والقسط بين المؤمنين")[551]

Muḥammad insisted that the prisoners be properly clothed[552] and adequately fed.[553] Al-Wāqidī even reports a case of prisoners marvelling that their Muslim captors let them ride camels while they walked beside them on their way back to Medina from Badr.[554] Expressly forbidding any torture or mutilation of the prisoners, Muḥammad stated in unequivocal terms: "I will not mutilate … for Allah would then mutilate me even though I am a prophet."[555] Interestingly, he made this much-quoted statement first, to our knowledge, when 'Umar asked to be allowed to pull out the teeth of one of the Badr prisoners, Suhayl ibn 'Amr, a Quraysh leader and distinguished orator who had long agitated against Muḥammad.[556] Rejecting 'Umar's request, Muḥammad said that perhaps one day Suhayl would have a change of heart about Islam. This actually transpired. When Muḥammad marched upon Mecca in 630 CE in an essentially bloodless campaign, Suhayl was the one who requested and received from Muḥammad clemency on behalf of all Meccans. Suhayl soon after converted to Islam.[557] When the Prophet died in 632, it was Suhayl who gave a rousing speech that prevented the wavering Meccans from opposing the continued rule of Islam.[558]

Not everyone at Badr responded to clemency in expected ways. Al-Wāqidī details the example of Abū 'Azzah 'Amr ibn 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umayr al-Jumahī, a Quraysh fighter captured at the Battle of Uḥud a year after Badr, who was executed for having broken his personal promise to Muḥammad when freed without ransom at Badr that he would not fight Muslims again.[559] When he appealed for clemency a second time, the Prophet declined, explaining that 'Abū 'Azzah had broken his trust. "Indeed, a believer will not be bitten twice from the same snake hole."[560]

Actually, despite the general policy of pardon or ransom (the Qur'ān says: "then set them free as a favor or as ransom"[561]) Muḥammad was not lenient with everyone taken prisoner at Badr. He ordered the execution of two

captured malefactors, al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith and ‘Uqba ibn Abī Mu‘ayṭ, who had been the worst oppressors of Muḥammad and the Muslims before the *Hijra*. Both pleaded for clemency, with the latter asking who would look after his children if he were killed. Muḥammad answered, “Hellfire”.[562] ‘Āsim ibn Thābit executed ‘Uqba, and ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib executed al-Nadr.[563]

The Craving for Revenge Muḥammad led his triumphant, exultant, but exhausted force back to Medina, hoping for a long respite before he would have to engage Meccans again (as he knew with certainty that he would). Two months later, however, Muḥammad had to lead men out on a swift pursuit of a two-hundred-strong Meccan raiding party. Led by Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, the raiders had ridden north on a mission to avenge Abū Sufyān’s slain son Hanẓala (killed by ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib) and eleven others killed from Abū Sufyān’s own clan. Abū Sufyān had sworn to avoid perfumed oil until he had gained his revenge. His raiders killed two farmers and burned some crops, which was sufficient for him to claim that he had avenged his personal suffering.[564] Muḥammad’s hastily assembled force was unable to catch up with him. Then, four months after Badr, in July 624, Muḥammad returned to the pre-Badr pattern of raiding, sending out raiders for the first time after hearing that the Banū Sulaym and Banū Ghaṭafān had moved to watering areas nearby and, as well as potentially posing a threat, would probably be an easy target. As noted above, the Muslim raiders took five hundred camels on that raid. Raiding continued on average every two months or so for the next eight years, with few or no casualties and varying success. Yet major battles also occurred sporadically throughout those eight years.

The first major fighting after the Battle of Badr involved the Muslims attacking the Jewish Banū Qaynuqā‘ tribe in Medina in April 624 almost immediately after they, the Muslims, returned from Badr. The assault on the

Qaynuqā‘’s fortress in Medina was the first of three sieges in the city during coming years, with the two other Medinese Jewish tribes, the Banū al-Naḍīr and the Banū Qurayẓa, being attacked and defeated in August 625 and May 627 respectively. The Muslims besieged the fortified towns of the Jewish oasis of Khaybar a year later, in May 628, thus completing their suppression of Jewish political freedom and strength in the Ḥijāz. Given that these four campaigns involved sieges of fortresses, and Jewish tribes, they will be analyzed together in a separate chapter after Muḥammad’s other pitched battles are scrutinized.

One cannot overstate the importance of revenge (ثأر, *tha’r*), the vendetta to right a wrong, within the seventh-century Arabian world. It was always the “master-passion of the Arab,” according to Lyall.[565] “In its prosecution he [the Arab] was conscious of a burning fever, the only medicine for which was the blood of his foe.” It was therefore inevitable that the Meccans would immediately begin planning a way to avenge their losses at Badr and restore their badly damaged reputation. The Meccan poetry from this period recorded by Ibn Hishām is intensely vengeful, with al-Ḥārith Ibn Hishām ibn Mughīra, for example, declaring that he would avenge his brother Abū Jahl: “Unless I die, I shall not leave you unavenged / I will spare neither my brother’s nor my wife’s kin / I will kill as many dear to them / As they have killed of mine … / [Life] won’t amount to a thing if we fail to take revenge on ‘Amr’s killers / With waving swords flashing in your hands like lightning / Scattering heads as they shimmer.”[566]

With Abū Jahl, ‘Utba ibn Rabī‘a, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, and other chiefs of the Quraysh having been slain at Badr, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, whose skillful leadership of the caravan from Syria had thwarted Muḥammad’s plans, became Mecca’s most powerful leader. Abū Sufyān had lost his son Hanẓala and, although he claimed that his bothersome but ineffective raid on Medina had freed him personally from his vow to avenge Hanzala[567], he knew that a wider community responsibility for avenging the defeat and humiliation would fall primarily to him. This fact was driven home every day by his traumatized third wife, Hind bint ‘Utba, whose father, brother and uncle had all been killed in Badr’s opening duels, and whose son with Abū Sufyān, Hanẓala, had also been killed. Some of her own rage-filled poetry is recorded by Ibn Hishām. Describing herself as “broken-hearted

and made insane," Hind called Badr "a war to kindle another war, for every man now has a friend to avenge". She appealed directly to every Meccan: "Let us fall upon Yathrib [Medina] with an overwhelming attack".[568]

The Quraysh had lost some of its prestige, but it still had strong relationships with several powerful tribes throughout the Ḥijāz, with whom Abū Sufyān and Mecca's other leaders began to negotiate the planning of an attack on Medina to avenge Badr. Mecca, a mercantile power with no self-sufficiency in foodstuffs and other essentials, also had trade requirements and obligations throughout the wider region that it could not ignore. Although the Meccans knew that the coastal northward caravan route was now impossible to use, and even the route to and from nearby Ṭā'if was imperiled (as the Nakhla raid had shown), the Meccans could not afford to abandon their trading. As noted above, they therefore tried to send a caravan north via an inland route that would take it past Medina on the east, not the west, road. They wrongly believed that the Muslims lacked familiarity with this route and that its inhospitable environment — steep canyons and waterless desert — would further deter them.[569] Muḥammad was not daunted in the slightest, however, when he heard of the caravan. He sent his adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha with one hundred men to block the route and ambush the caravan. Zayd returned thereafter with booty worth 100,000 dirhams, of which Muḥammad took his fifth and returned the rest to the raiders as equally divided portions. It was a further humiliation for Mecca and a serious blow to the viability of its trade. Abū Sufyān knew that he must deal with Muḥammad as an urgent priority.

Modern readers might ask why Muḥammad, who fully understood that Mecca would violently retaliate for Badr, did not let that caravan pass through safely as a powerful gesture of de-escalation and possibly even conciliation. After all, he could have chosen not to send out a raiding party to intercept the caravan and he could have then informed the Quraysh of his benevolence, hoping the gesture would soften hearts and serve as the start point for negotiations leading to reconciliation. Such a course of action might seem logical and agreeable to readers today who do not come from a cultural *milieu* dominated by constant warfare, tribal rivalries and almost fanatically held concepts of honour, reputation, strength, and revenge. Yet Muḥammad came from precisely that context. He could not argue against the basic right to retaliation. Even the Qur'ān allowed just retribution for

deaths: “Oh you who believe, retaliation is prescribed for you” (يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِصَاصُ).[570] Of course, Muḥammad would have disagreed entirely with the justice of the Quraysh’s claim, believing that they had been the aggressors, but that belief, he knew, was perspective-based. The Quraysh would not see it the same way that he did.

He knew that the Islamic community, which had exerted itself on the northern Arabian stage as a *de facto* tribe, was now in a tribal blood-feud with the Quraysh, and that the Quraysh would, sooner or later, seek revenge. “Blood for blood” (الدم بالدم, *al-dam bi’al-dam*), the Arabs’ *lex talionis*, demanded that the Quraysh inflicted at least as much harm on the Muslims as they had suffered at Badr. Muḥammad therefore had to weaken the Quraysh as fully and quickly as he could and he had to send a powerful signal to the Quraysh’s allies, whom he wanted to attract to his own side (or at least deter them from joining the Meccans), that he had not gone soft after winning so decisively at Badr. It goes without saying that he also had young warriors who clamored for reputation and booty who would not understand why a lucrative caravan should safely pass Medina. Gaining that booty by fighting in the cause of Allah was entirely reasonable to them, and to Muḥammad.

Abū Sufyān and his colleagues recognized that raising a purely Qurashī force of sufficient strength to attack Medina and defeat its defenders — who, because of the networks of scouts and spies kept by both sides, could not be taken entirely by surprise — would be improbable. They would need the support of their allies. They therefore sent emissaries to tribes in the Ḥijāz asking for their support, or, if they would not join them, their agreement not to side with the Muslims. The groups who agreed to send warriors and weapons included the Banū Thaqīf, their neighbors in Ṭā’if, whose trade the Muslims were restricting, and the Banū Bakr ibn ‘Abd-Manāt, who were genealogically closely related to the Quraysh.[571]

This force took time to resource and the huge cost of armor, weapons, camels, horses and food was apparently paid for from the profit of the thousand-camel caravan that Abū Sufyān had saved from Muḥammad’s capture. The Meccans spent 50,000 dinars on the campaign, which was a vast sum.[572] It also took time to assemble, and of course the Meccans knew better than to march out in either mid-Winter or mid-Summer. Spring

customarily provided the fighting season. The weather was not intense and water was abundant. In early March 625, the Meccans therefore left for the trek north. They had around 3,000 warriors with no fewer than 3,000 camels and 200 horses.[573] Interestingly, although Montgomery Watt calls the warriors “well-equipped,” only 700, less than a quarter, had coats of mail.[574] Many of the leaders took their wives with them — riding in howdahs, camel-borne curtained carriages — the purpose of which was apparently to have them present at the battle to inspire heroism and incite a vengeful spirit through constant reminders (some sung with tambourines) of their loved ones killed at Badr. Once again, they stopped at watering holes on their way northward and slew camels, ensuring that no exhaustion would ruin their chances of success.

There was, of course, no way that a force this large could march northward towards Medina for ten or twelve days without Muḥammad learning of its approach. Indeed, his uncle, al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who some say converted to Islam after Badr but still lived in Mecca (while others say he only converted when Muḥammad marched on Mecca in January 630[575]), had written secretly to warn him of the Meccan plan.[576] Then his own network of spies and scouts had followed and observed the approaching force since it had first reached the approaches to Medina. Muḥammad knew from the reported presence of women, tambourines and drums that the huge Meccan force would be fixated on revenge. This would be a difficult time.

Abū Sufyān commanded the force, probably as a hereditary tribal privilege, the *ḳiyāda* (قيادة, the right to command a fighting force). He led the Meccan force directly into the Uḥud valley from the north, away from Medina itself, and had the camels and horses graze luxuriously in the barley fields there, thus trying to provoke the Medinese into sallying forward. The camels and horses devoured the crops; “leaving nothing green”.[577] Muḥammad has scouts make an accurate count of the enemy’s strength, so that he could think of how best to respond. He then called for a *Shūrā*, a consultation. His advisors were split between two approaches. The first group, which included several of the Muslim elders, voiced the opinion that they should fight defensively from within the city, waging the type of street-by-street, house-by-house warfare that we now call urban warfare.

‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy, chief of Ba’l-Hubla, a section of the ‘Awf clan of the Banū Khazraj, one of Medina’s two main non-Jewish tribal groups, argued strongly that this would attrit the enemy most effectively, with even women and children being able to throw rocks down from rooftops and fortified buildings while the men could fight in the network of streets and alleys that they knew so much better than their opponents. Muḥammad liked this advice. The second and more popular opinion came from the younger and more fiery new Muslims, who had not fought at Badr a year earlier but were intoxicated by its success and the greater possibility that, if they marched out of the city to fight in the valley in a Badr-style battle, they would become heroes or martyrs.[578] Muḥammad’s uncle Ḥamza and several others agreed that marching out to meet the enemy would certainly show that they were not cowards, a reputation they might earn by holding back. The young men strutted arrogantly before Muḥammad, said al-Wāqidī, clothed and armed for battle. Ḥamza even retorted that he would not eat that day “until we go out and I meet them with my sword.”[579]

Al-Wāqidī records at length the speeches made by both sides, the verbatim accuracy of which we should treat skeptically, but whose tone and basic thrust are probably correctly conveyed. Muḥammad unhappily saw that that the majority of his advisers preferred to march forward to fight outside the city, and, accepting the will of his *Shūrā*, he settled on that option. This shamed some of the hotheads, who felt they had pressured him and said they would back down, but the die was cast. Muḥammad had by that stage donned his armor and, after telling them that he had put forward a position against which they pushed back, added: “It is not fitting that, once a prophet has put on his armor, he will remove it until Allah had judged between him and his enemies.”[580] This would prove to be a consequential decision.

Later that day the Muslim warriors marched out of the city to meet their opponents, with Muḥammad leading around one thousand armed men — only one hundred of whom wore coats of mail — divided into three kin-group sections, the *Muhājirūn* and the two tribal groups of the *Anṣār*: the Aws and the Khazraj. To each he gave a distinct flag and his instructions. This force was three times larger than the one he had won with at Badr, but, even though it included some members of the Aws and Khazraj tribes who were still unbelievers (that is, not yet Muslims[581]), it did not yet include all

or even most Medinese men. Even after Badr, Muḥammad was still not yet the only leader in a city which still had several others. This would change in coming years.

His force was basically composed of what today we would call light infantry: warriors armed with bows, spears, and swords, but with no cavalry or other means of providing rapid movement. Al-Wāqidī and his student Ibn Sa‘d describe how a unit of Jewish warriors, presumably non-exiled Qaynuqā‘ allies of ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy, rode out to join Muḥammad, despite it being Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d maintain that the Prophet rejected their participation, saying that he “could not accept the help of one group of polytheists against another” (“لا يستنصر بأهل الشرك على أهل الشرك”).[582] It seems very odd that al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d used the word “polytheists” for the Jews, who were certainly monotheistic. They naturally knew the huge distinction, and al-Wāqidī had earlier described Medina’s non-Muslim population as including both “the polytheists and the Jews” (“المشركون واليهود”)[583] If true, Muḥammad’s rejection of the Jews as fellow fighters shows that his thinking had moved far from the early days after the *Hijra*, when he had seen Medina’s Jews as fellow monotheists whose main weakness was that many had yet to see him as a prophet. For this battle he needed all the help he could get, and his relationship with most of Medina’s Jews was still intact, so the claim that Jews were sent back may actually be a mistake, or a later deliberate insertion. We know that other non-Muslims fought at Uḥud on Muḥammad’s side, and that an unconverted Rabbi named Mukhayrīq, who was very fond of Muḥammad, fought and died in the battle.[584] This prompted an upset Muḥammad to say: “Mukhayrīq is the best of Jews!” (“مخيريق خير اليهود”).[585]

Muḥammad’s force halted for the night safely away from the Meccans before taking up positions early the next day on the lower slopes of Mount Uḥud. It was at that time, after the dawn prayer, that ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy withdrew around three hundred Khazraj warrior and led them back to Medina.[586] The Islamic sources say that the Khazraj leader, who had been the most distinguished and influential Medinan before Muḥammad’s arrival three year earlier and was still one of Muḥammad’s peers[587], was unable to cope with Muḥammad’s rejection of his advice in favor of the opinion of

new and hot-headed converts. Montgomery Watt challenges the Islamic sources on this point, believing that ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy may have withdrawn with Muḥammad’s permission to protect the city itself from attack by the Meccans’ far more mobile forces.[588] After all, the fighting position at Uḥud taken up by the Muslims was north of where the Meccans would form their line; that is, further from Medina than the Meccans would be. Watt offers a second possibility: that ‘Abdullāh ibn Ubayy’s departure was an act of neutrality that would strengthen his position with both parties regardless of the battle’s outcome. To accept either of Watt’s hypotheses we would need to evaluate evidence, and there is no evidence. However interesting Watt’s ideas are, they remain speculative.

What seems clear is that Muḥammad’s force was at a massive disadvantage not only in terms of the quantity of warriors in relation to the enemy, but also in terms of quality. Muḥammad’s force was essentially a static force incapable of moving quickly across a battlefield to exploit momentary opportunities. The Meccans, on the other hand, had powerful cavalry, with around one hundred horsemen on each flank of their line, who could move with great speed and freedom. Muḥammad was no fool. He saw this. He therefore positioned the right flank of his 400-meter-long line (held by the remaining Khazraj under al-Ḥubāb ibn Mundhir) hard up against a rocky protrusion from Mount Uḥud. With the *Muhājirūn* under ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in his line’s center, he could see that his left flank (held by the Aws under Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr) would be gravely vulnerable.[589] He therefore placed fifty archers under ‘Abdullāh ibn Jubayr on a small hillock (known as ‘Aynan) near that vulnerable left flank and told them that they must not move from that hillock no matter how the battle developed, and they must guard against a cavalry flanking attack. Even if victory for the Muslims emerged, they must not move.[590]

Fifty archers would never have been enough to withstand the flanking movement of one hundred galloping horses, especially if they rode widely around that hillock, distant from the archers; in other words, without curving closely near to it and the danger of arrows descending upon them. The gap between the rear of that hillock and the base of Mount Uḥud — that is, the gap cavalry could use to get behind the Muslims — was almost 800 meters wide. This was far beyond the archers’ ability to close, and, even if cavalry would choose to gallop closer to the hill to swing around it,

their speed would be sufficient to get enough riders past the archers to be able to cause serious harm. Muḥammad would have known this. Yet it was the best that he could do with his small force. He could not thin the center more in order to strengthen the left flank with more than the fifty archers, otherwise the Meccans would push through the center.

Muḥammad's gravely vulnerable left flank has prompted one recent writer to assert that the Uḥud battlefield location visited each year by millions of Muslims, who like to be photographed standing atop the 'Aynan hillock (now known as Archers' Hill, or جبل الرماة, Jabal al-Rumah), was not in fact the site of the battle.[591] Muḥammad would never have left a flank exposed like that, the writer claims, and the ability of archers to stop an attack around the back of the hillock was so small that Muḥammad cannot have intended it. The writer concludes that another location must be found. He therefore relocates the position of the archers to Mount Uḥud itself. Advancing this theory is going too far. It ignores the fact that Meccan cavalrymen are reported to have later killed the steadfast archers who did not leave their post[592], something that horsemen could not have done if the archers were situated on the dramatically precipitous Uḥud. Moreover, few commanders ever get to fight from a perfect and universally strong and defensible position. Instead, they find the best possible location, however imperfect it may be, and they organize ways to reduce its vulnerabilities as much as they can. Muḥammad did precisely that.

The Battle Commences Muḥammad's day of defeat actually started well, according to the sources. He twice organized his line with care, wisdom and discipline, straightening the men and closing any gaps. The line needed to be like a solid wall if it was to hold. Aware of the enemy's power and mobility, he then gave directions to archers in the second rank that, if any Muslims broke and tried to flee, they must push them forward again, and, most importantly, the archers must remain vigilant in case of attack from the rear.[593] He also repeated his emphatic stand-fast order to the fifty archers on the 'Aynan hillock. Then, after the perfunctory duels, and the mutual exchange of

arrows and the hurling of javelins (throwing spears) by around one hundred Meccans, the two lines crushed together for the violent spear-play that gave way to the slashing and stabbing of swords. Al-Wāqidī says that the Meccans advanced to battle first, as they had at Badr.

All the earliest sources agree that Muḥammad wore two coats of mail[594] and a helmet with a chain coif protecting his cheeks and neck. The appearance of fear that may accompany reports that he wore two coats of mail has caused some Muslim writers to ignore the fact altogether or to insist that, actually, this is not the meaning intended in the sources. Muḥammad must have swapped his own armor for a follower's, they say, as a disguise.[595] This is as preposterous as Richard Gabriel's recent claim that the story of Muḥammad wearing two coats of mail is probably untrue because of the huge weight of two mail coats (clearly he had in mind the heavy densely-woven ringed mail of the High Middle Ages).[596] Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Hishām mention at least one other warrior in the Battle of Uḥud wearing two coats of mail.[597] 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, certainly no coward, had worn two coats of mail during his duel at the Battle of Badr.[598] Muḥammad himself would again wear two coats on mail at the Battle of Khaybar in May 628 and the Battle of Ḥunayn in January 630.[599] We also know that Khālid al-Barbarī famously wore two coats of mail and died heroically whilst fighting energetically, unimpaired by weight, in the later Battle of Fakhkh (in June 786) during the reign of the Caliph Mūsā al-Hādī.[600]

Muḥammad had roused his troops with exhortations of courage and promises of Paradise for martyrs, and, with a war-cry of "kill, kill"[601], they duly fought ferociously after the two lines closed together. Indeed, both sides demonstrated courage and resolve, with the lines moving forward and backward several times. The Meccan women cheered on their kin, and their beating drums and jangling tambourines added to the chaos. Exactly as the women of Banū Bakr ibn Wā'il had done at the famous battle of Dhū Qār sixteen or so year earlier[602], the Meccan women taunted their men that they would turn away from them if they, their men, turned away in battle.[603] The impact of this threat probably mattered less than the burning desire to avenge Badr. The Meccan warriors may have been cautious and passive a year earlier, but now they were — as al-Wāqidī quotes some of them

proclaiming — “a people fearless of death and unavenged” who “will not return home until we take our revenge or die trying to.”[604]

Even so, before long the Muslims were pushing back the far stronger Meccan line, which the Qur’ān (*Sūrah al-‘Imrān* 3:152) describes in this fashion: “Allah certainly made good His promise to you when you were punishing them with His permission” (وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ).[605] The early Islamic sources discuss at great length the heroism of various Muslim warriors, who cut swathes through their opponents. The same Qur’ānic verse then discusses a dramatic reversal of fortune: “until you lost courage and fell into dispute concerning the instruction and you disputed after you saw what you love” (حَتَّى إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ وَتَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي الأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُم مِّن بَعْدِ مَا أَرَاكُم مَّا تُحِبُّونَ).

All the earliest narrative sources, later *aḥādīth*, and Qur’ānic exegesis understand this to mean that the battle was actually going the way that Muḥammad would have liked, with his warriors quickly pushing the Meccan line back, before disaster came in the form of greed capturing the minds of most of the archers on the hillock. Seeing the Meccan warriors and women retreating and some Muslims already stripping the battlefield of the armor of slain Meccans while crying out “the booty, the booty” (“الغنيمة الغنيمة!”[606]), and seeing the Meccan camp as undefended and vulnerable to raiding, they deserted the hill in defiance of Muhamad’s strict instruction and the pleas of their leader ‘Abdullāh ibn Jubayr. Their movement forward from their assigned position towards the Meccan camp created an opportunity for the cavalry on the Meccan right flank, commanded by Khālid ibn al-Walīd, to sweep tightly around the hill and to attack the Muslims from the rear. The rest of the Meccan cavalry, led by ‘Ikrima the son of Abū Jahl, joined Khālid’s flanking attack after having first killed the pillaging archers. This caused the Muslim cohesion and confidence to collapse immediately and irreversibly.[607] An extremely violent *mêlée* took place, in which many Muslims were slain or wounded, including Muḥammad himself, who was struck on the face by a projectile of some type, probably a rock, and knocked senseless. Muslims even slew each other in the chaos.[608] Cries that Muḥammad had been killed (attributed to Satan[609]) then caused chaos to give way to panic, and even after he was helped to his feet and was seen fighting heroically, defended by a circle of

valiant warriors who died protecting him, the panic was impossible to stop.

Muḥammad and the bulk of the survivors retreated up the slope of Mount Uḥud, while another smaller group, apparently disoriented and unsure where to head, made off towards Medina. They were swiftly cut down. When the dust settled, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb realized that he had won a great battle. He had lost 22 of his men, but he had killed around seventy Muslims (including the Prophet's beloved uncle, Ḥamza), wounded many others (including Muḥammad, whom he initially thought was among the dead), and routed them unmistakably, thus avenging the Meccan defeat at Badr a year earlier.[610] It was a great triumph for Abū Sufyān, and he savored the moment. Yet he was a man of culture and decency, and, with the grievance now addressed and the unavenged now avenged, he did not strike again at the vulnerable Muslims with a view to exterminating them. Indeed, with the exception of a party acting apparently on its own initiative, which unsuccessfully tried to reach Muḥammad's position, Abū Sufyān extended considerable respect to Muḥammad on the hillside. "You did well," he called aloud to the sheltering Muslims. "Victory in war goes by turns. Today was recompense for Badr."[611] There followed an exchange of religious claims of superiority by both sides, with 'Umar speaking for the wounded Muḥammad. Before he left, Abū Sufyān cried out again: "Among your dead are some mutilated bodies. By Allah, I did not like it, but I did not get angry. I neither ordered nor prohibited mutilation."[612] It is perversely ironic that his own wife, Hind bint 'Utba, was among the mutilators and that she had personally desecrated the body of the Prophet's uncle. Abū Sufyān reportedly then said something that makes no sense contextually or psychologically: "We will meet you again at Badr at the beginning of next year."[613] Muḥammad reportedly sent back an affirmation.

Aside perhaps for this strange claim, there is no reason to question, let alone doubt, the basic Islamic description of events, but a few observations should be made. First, religion often takes time to transform believers from within. It is not an immediate process. Muḥammad had in recent years attracted many converts (perhaps several thousand) to Islam, both from the Aws and Khazraj (and some of the Jews) within Medina, and also from the Bedouin tribes around the city. Yet the influence of culture remained profound and, in some ways, limited the development of a widespread acceptance of Muḥammad's view that exerting oneself for Allah's sake

should not be based primarily on the hope of gaining rewards, but should also reflect an intention to please Allah through obedience of authority and an inner journey towards righteousness. Indeed, the Arab obsession with booty was as widespread among Muḥammad's warriors at Uḥud as it had been at Badr, and this obsession was the main cause of indiscipline and disunity during the battle. The Qur'ān called the Meccans' possessions at Uḥud "what you love" (مَّا تُحِبُّونَ) and the earliest sources mention that the archers only disobeyed Muḥammad's order to stay in position no matter what ("even if you see us capturing booty"[614]) *after* they saw that other Muslims, who had temporarily pushed the Meccans back, had started looting from slain foes even before achieving any substantial and irreversible advantage.[615] In other words, the archers were not the first to disengage from combat to take booty; they only left to join others who were already prematurely doing it before the battle was even won. This may explain why the Qur'ān does not actually mention the archers, but condemns the Muslims for disobeying what was probably, in conjunction with the specific direction to the archers, a general order to win first, *then* collect booty. In his account, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid similarly blames all the Muslims, who "fought and quarreled among themselves," without mentioning the archers at all.[616]

Second, we cannot be sure that the initial Muslim success — driving back the Meccan line — was not a deliberate Meccan feigned collapse designed to cause the Muslims to rush forward spontaneously and in disorder, with their line no longer in place, so that the Meccans could explore the hidden opportunity to drive around the Muslims' flank. Historian Montgomery Watt asserts that the Meccan warriors in the line "were too undisciplined to carry out a planned withdrawal in the face of enemy pressure," but then contradictorily acknowledges that Abū Sufyān and the other Meccans were capable commanders who, more importantly, gained masterful support that day from Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who was "one of the great generals of all time" and who probably gave them a battle plan involving the cavalry charge around the 'Aynan hillock into the rear of the Muslims.[617] One wonders if Khālid had not also told Abū Sufyān of the likelihood that, if they could feign a collapse in the line, the Muslims would rush forward, losing all organization and cohesion. That would be the ideal moment to

strike. One notes the fact that the Meccans crumbled with suspicious speed but then — with a discipline that Watt failed to acknowledge — reassembled their center and returned to attack the front while Khālid's cavalry attacked the rear. This suggests the possibility that it was planned.[618]

The third observation is that Abū Sufyān did not seek to destroy the remnants of the Muslim force at Uḥud, did not try to kill the wounded prophet, and did not march on what would likely have been a weakly defended Medina. He could have attempted one or all of these actions, having taken complete control of events at Uḥud. Explaining why he did not attack Medina is uncomplicated. His force had won at Uḥud but was battered and bruised and unready for a second immediate battle. He surely knew by then that ʻAbdullāh ibn Ubayy had taken his warriors back into Medina, which made him a potential future ally or at least a neutral actor. Why risk pushing him into opposition by attacking his city, which would be defended by many from both the Khazraj and the Aws? He had no hostility to these tribes, and actually hoped that they would desert Muḥammad. Now, after Muhamad's defeat, they just might do so.

Explaining why Abū Sufyān did not seek to destroy the scattered Muslims on Mount Uḥud when he clearly could have done so is not straightforward. If he could rid Arabia of Muḥammad and his community, he would return Mecca to its esteemed position in the Ḥijāz and reactivate its full range of trading activities. Perhaps he thought that, by defeating Muḥammad so comprehensively at Uḥud — his victory was as decisive in every tactical sense as the Muslims' victory had been at Badr — he had already re-established Mecca's prestige and made Muḥammad's future as an aggressor untenable. That is, he had taught him a powerful lesson. Certainly, Abū Sufyān seems to have been, despite his reported vows and boasting about eradicating Muḥammad and Islam, not especially vicious. He had avenged the defeat at Badr, with Muslim losses this time equaling those of the Meccans a year earlier. This was precisely the basis of the "blood for blood" philosophy in the accepted *lex talionis*; the achievement of a reprisal equivalent to the original grievance. As he had shouted up to Muḥammad: "Today was recompense for Badr!"

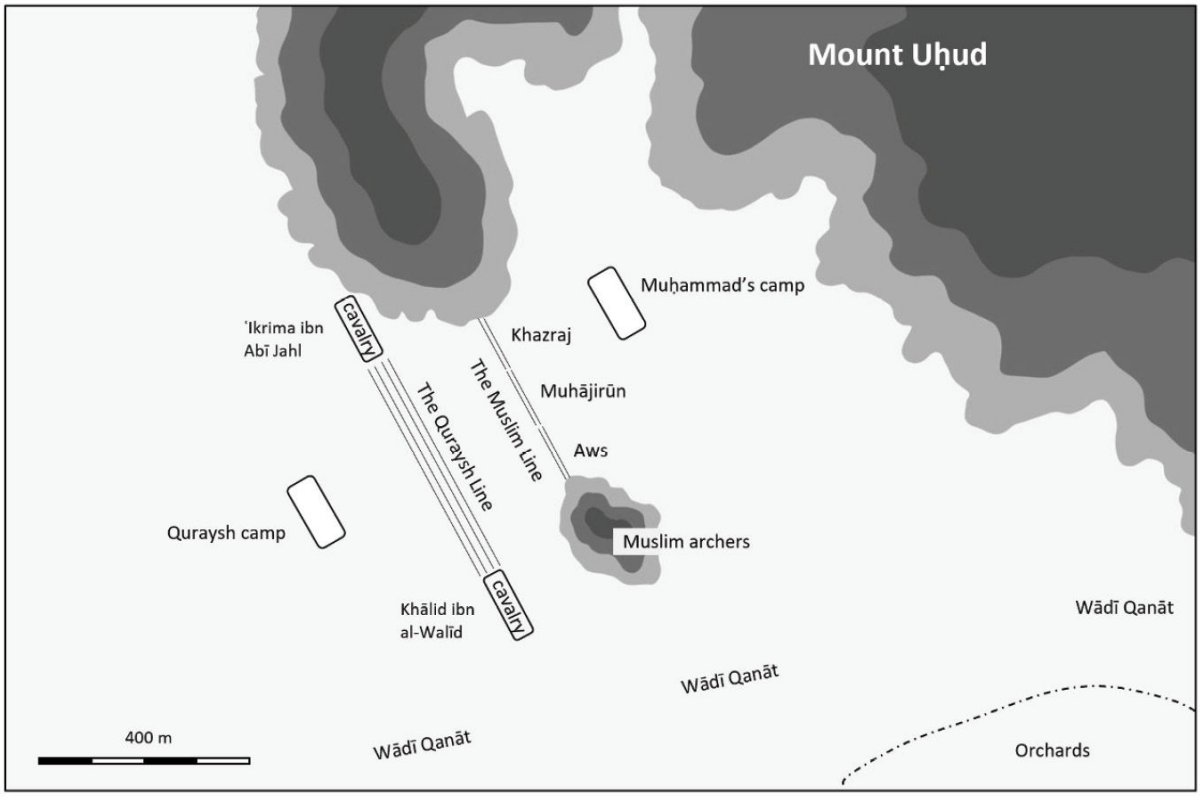

Figure 6. The Initial Positions at Uḥud

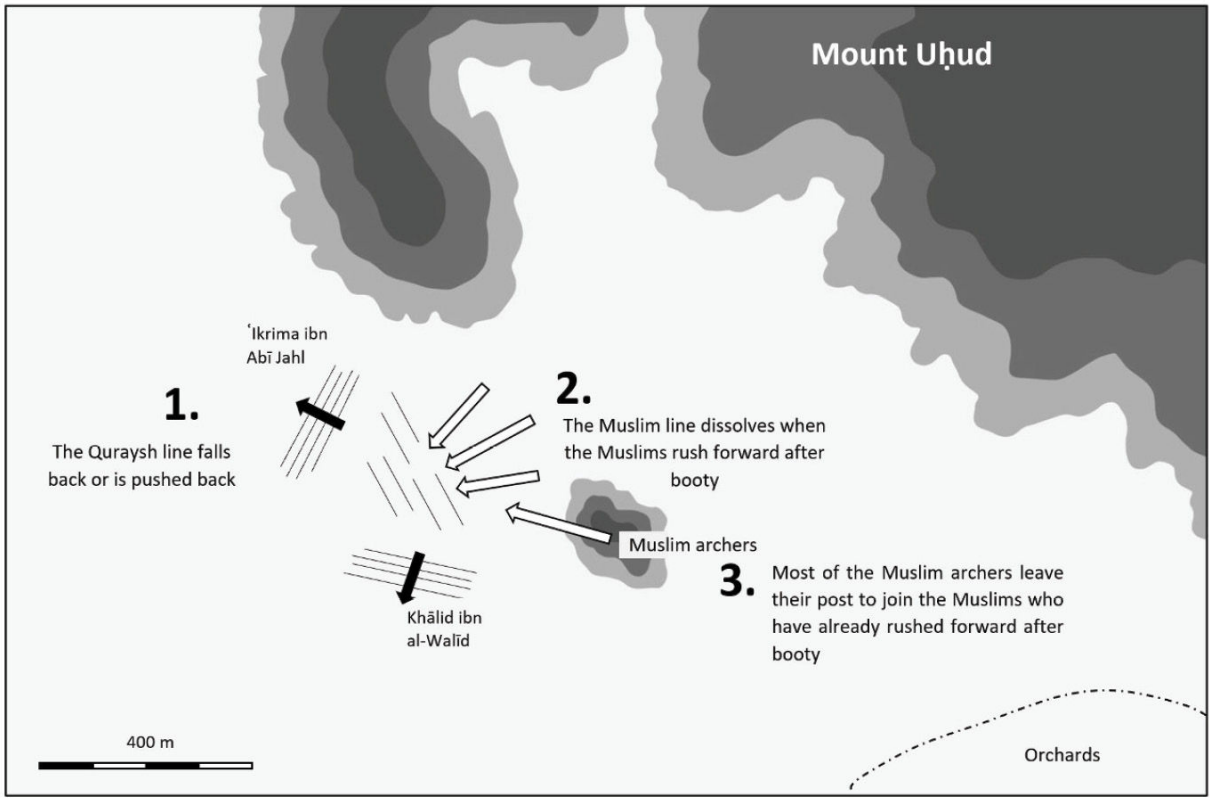

Figure 7. The Battle at Mid-Point

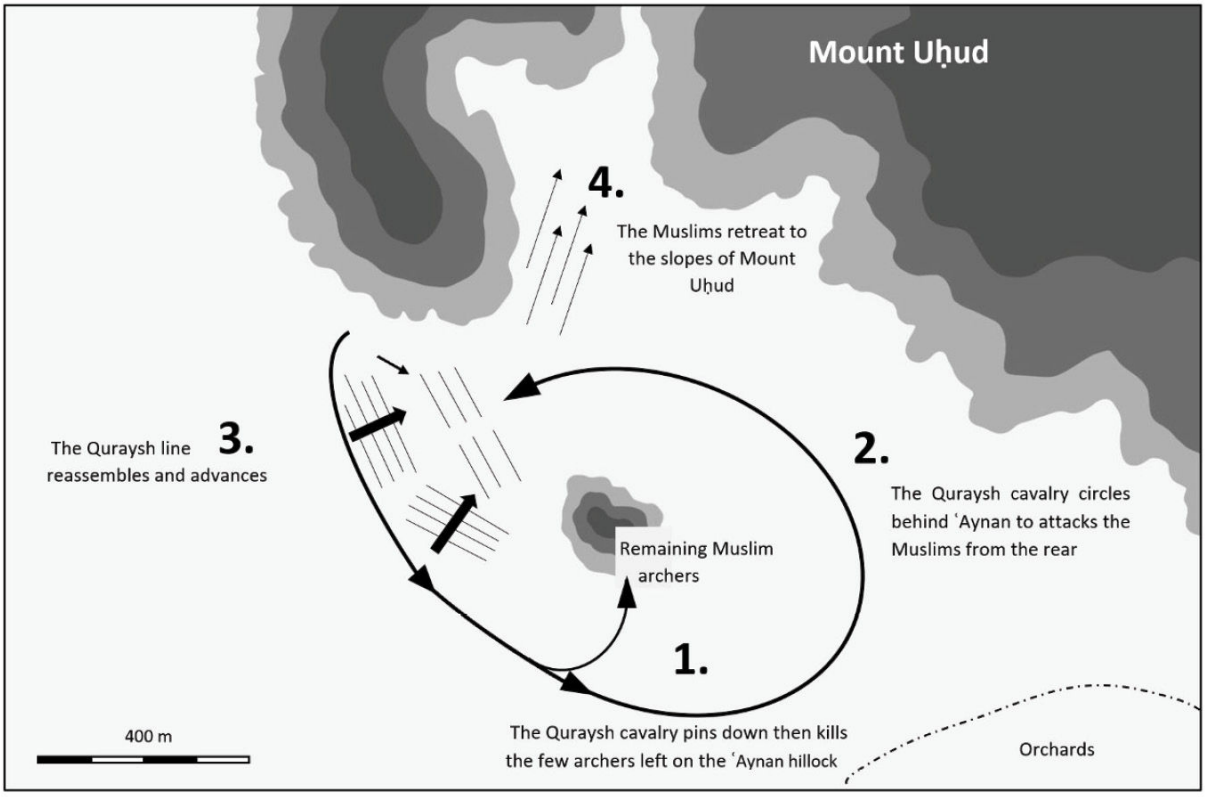
Mount Uḥud
4.
The Muslims retreat to the slopes of Mount Uḥud
3.
The Quraysh line reassembles and advances
2.
The Quraysh cavalry circles behind ʿAynan to attacks the Muslims from the rear
Remaining Muslim archers
1.
400 m
The Quraysh cavalry pins down then kills the few archers left on the ʿAynan hillock
Orchards

Figure 8. The Meccans Finish the Battle

The Lead-up to the Battle of the Trench The Muslims' defeat at Uḥud caused deep concerns and a flurry of spoken and internal questions in Medina, especially among the *Anṣār***, who had lost sixty-five men compared with only four** *Muhājirūn* **(and Mukhayrīq, the first Jewish martyr in Islam).[619] A general depression descended upon the city, not helped by Ibn Ubayy's attitude of "I told you so". If Badr had been evidence of Allah's support, what could believers and allies make of the defeat at Uḥud? Had Allah deserted them? Why had He not sent angels to intervene this time? Would He ever return His favor to them? Had they caused the defeat themselves? What type of activity would please Allah? Would He support them if they again ventured forth on raids? To Muḥammad these were not valid questions. Allah was of course still with him and his followers, but Allah had chosen to test his followers[620] and they,**

although forgiven for disobedience and defective prioritizing[621] — the preference for material gain over spiritual reward — must learn the lesson. This is the main thrust of the virtual flood of revelations, the words sent down from God that later became written Qur'ānic verses, in the days and weeks following the defeat.[622]

Muḥammad wasted no time in metaphorically (and physically) getting himself and his warriors back on the horse. The day after the defeat, he rode out with a sizeable force of battered, exhausted but dedicated warriors — many of them wounded[623] — ostensibly in pursuit of the victorious Quraysh. He did so in order to give the Quraysh the false impression that the Muslim army was unimpaired and in high morale so that they, the Quraysh, would not consider turning back to attack Medina.[624] Doubtless he also knew that the Bedouin tribes around Medina would have heard of the battle's result, so seeing him and his warriors out in force would hopefully counteract any impression of weakness. In order to strengthen his ruse, Muḥammad told his men to gather wood by day and to light a needlessly large number of fires at night.[625] He also had Maʿbad ibn Abī Maʿbad al-Khuzāʿī, a Bedouin who was secretly allied to him, go forward into Abū Sufyān's camp with a tale that Muḥammad was hot on their trail with a reinvigorated army "such as he had never seen," including the Aws and Khazraj men who had not fought at Uḥud.[626] This had the desired effect, and a cautious Abū Sufyān led his army directly back to Mecca.

Muḥammad recommenced raiding around three months after the Battle of Uḥud, sending Abū Salama and 150 warriors stealthily to attack the Banū Asad before they could be detected and resisted. The raid resulted in the taking of considerable booty, with Muḥammad securing his fifth. The ostensible reason for the raid was that, according to reports (that might have been mistaken), a group from the Asad, emboldened by the Muslims' defeat, might be about to raid Medinan herds. Other likely causes include a desire to give his demoralised men success and booty, and to demonstrate — both to themselves and to the tribes thereabout — that they had not been broken by the disaster at Uḥud. This was followed by two well-intended but ill-fated non-military missions to teach Islam to Bedouin tribes, who, probably on the guidance of the Quraysh or as a means of satisfying them,

double-crossed Muḥammad and killed as many as seventy of his men at Bi’r Ma‘ūna and al-Rajī‘.[627] These atrocities came shortly before, but did not cause (except perhaps by causing a hardening in Muḥammad’s mind towards perceived enemies), Muḥammad’s major attack against the Jews of the Banū al-Naḍīr within Medina itself in August 625. This will be discussed in the next section.

In April 626, on the approximate second anniversary of the Battle of Badr, almost a year after Uḥud, Muḥammad marched to Badr at the head of 1,500 warriors.[628] The reported aim was to fight the Meccans according to Abū Sufyān’s statement, “We will meet you again at Badr at the beginning of next year”. This may not have ever been a serious challenge, and Abū Sufyān never showed up and probably never intended to (the Islamic sources say that he blamed a drought for not doing so). Yet marching out anyway was essential for Muḥammad’s reputation and for the fighting spirit of his men. Al-Wāqidī reports that, following the Uḥud defeat and the atrocities at Bi’r Ma‘ūna and al-Rajī‘, Muslims “hated having to march out,” meaning on raids and other missions.[629] Doing so *en masse* would therefore be good for them, especially when wild rumors reached them that the Meccans had enlisted their Bedouin allies for a campaign that would finally destroy the Muslims. A more plausible explanation than satisfying a boastful appointment is that Muḥammad knew that, at that time, people from all over the Ḥijāz would be gathered in Badr for an annual fair. Leading a huge force of 1,500 men to Badr, by far his largest force yet (more than double that assembled for Uḥud), would be a powerful statement. Far from having lost face and power, he was still a chieftain to be reckoned with; among the most powerful men in the Ḥijāz. It was marvelous theater. Riding to Badr on a horse at the head of 1,500 warriors was a demonstration of tremendous strength, authority, and leadership. And as Muḥammad intended, the march into Badr had a highly positive effect on his men. It “removed the fear of Satan from them,” ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān later recalled.[630] He could still remember how, up until that moment, “fear had taken over our hearts. I did not think that anyone had a desire to march out”. It also deeply impressed those at the fair, with whom the Muslims very profitably traded, having taken with them all their trade goods, and it caused stress among the Meccans, who almost immediately learned of the huge Muslim force at Badr.

Muḥammad personally led three major raids during the next year. Each included very large forces (400-800, 1,000, 1,000). The first raid, in June 626, failed to make contact with the intended target, the Anmār and Tha‘laba, whereas the other two raids, against the people of Dūmat al-Jandal in August 626 and the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq in January 627, gained significant booty. The most successful, the third, has already been mentioned above. Muḥammad captured two hundred families, 2,000 camels and 5,000 sheep, as well as a large quantity of household goods. He had demonstrated every leadership quality esteemed by the Arabs of the Ḥijāz — ambition, assertiveness, martial prowess, courage, and generosity — and his ability to put very large forces together on a regular and ongoing basis was impossible to ignore.

By this stage he had also driven out two of Medina’s Jewish tribes, the Banū Qaynuqā‘ (but not all, as will be shown) in April 625 and the Banū al-Naḍīr in August 625, with the latter heading north into Syria, a portion of them peeling off at the prosperous oasis town of Khaybar, 150 kilometers north of Medina, where they had close kin. This may have greatly strengthened Muḥammad’s power within Medina, where he was now the paramount figure, with the leaders of the few remaining non-Muslim groups (essentially now only the Aws Allāh and the Jewish Banū Qurayẓa) having only marginal influence. But Muḥammad had made enemies who bore significant grudges, most significantly the Quraysh in Mecca in the south, who had by now recognized that they had squandered their opportunity to regain their esteem and destroy Muḥammad’s power (or to destroy *him*), and the Jews of Khaybar in the north. Both wanted Muḥammad gone, and both knew that Muḥammad’s raiding had already antagonized the strong Banū Ghaṭafān seminomadic tribal cluster that lived northwest of Medina (and close to Khaybar) and several other Bedouin groups. Creating a coalition against Muḥammad would be in everyone’s interest.

Al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī say that Jews in Khaybar who wanted to return to Medina after their expulsion travelled to Mecca to negotiate a combined attack on Medina. That almost certainly happened, but the chroniclers narrate an implausible story of the Quraysh leaders being flattered into agreeing with these Jews to join a campaign against Muḥammad, after they had asked the Jews whose religion — theirs or Muḥammad’s — was superior.[631] Despite them being monotheists like

Muḥammad, the Jews reportedly said that the Meccans' polytheism was superior. Al-Ṭabarī says the Meccans "were so pleased by the Jews' reply that they became energized to make war on the Messenger of God."[632] We can discount these improbable anecdotes, which Ibn Sa'd, Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, and many other chroniclers did not repeat. They probably originated as a later retrospective explanation for a curious verse in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah al-Nisā*' 4:51) that seems to refer a group of Jews who preferred unbelievers to believers.[633]

These anecdotes are certainly not needed anyway as explanation for why many groups in the Ḥijāz would want to destroy Muḥammad and his growing authority. It was obvious to everyone that, within five or six years after the *Hijra*, Muḥammad and his community had entirely transformed the established order throughout the Ḥijāz. They now not only controlled trade and pilgrimage routes, but had also managed to intimidate into alliance or at least passivity all the surrounding Bedouin tribes that might have been tempted to attack him, graze their herds on the pastures near Medina, or raid the extensive Muslim-owned (and Muḥammad-owned) herds that now grazed on those pastures. Kicked out of Medina, the Jews who had settled in Khaybar wanted both revenge and a return to their homes and land. Shocked at Muḥammad's rapid reputational recovery after Uḥud, and aware that their own reputation was in freefall, along with their economy, the Quraysh were equally committed to destroying Muḥammad's power once and for all. Even if they could say they had avenged Badr, which was essentially true, Muḥammad had not ceased his expansionist efforts. The Quraysh were now watching with distress as their allies or neutral tribes defected to Muḥammad one by one while the Muslims' grip on their commercial activities tightened.

Assassinations Muḥammad tried to forestall another attack on Medina by having his men kill specific individuals who were reportedly plotting against him. Hoping that fear of this happening to them would deter others from conspiring, he ordered the assassination of Sufyān ibn Khālid ibn Nubayḥ[634], Chief of Banū Liḥyān, a branch of Hudhayl, who had assembled warriors from different tribal groups to attack him.

Then, after the Banū al-Naḍīr's expulsion, he ordered or allowed the assassination of Abū Rāfi‘ Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq[635], whose negotiations with the Ghaṭafān had reached his ears. After hearing that Abū Rafi"s successor, Usayr ibn Zarim, was continuing his predecessor's negotiations, Muḥammad also ordered Usayr's assassination.[636] The assassinations generally involved Muslims (from the *Anṣār*, not the *Muhājirūn*) winning the trust of the victims, sometimes their own relatives, sometimes by pretending that they had defected from Muḥammad's side. They then killed the victims with knives or swords, commonly in their homes while they were unsuspecting and unarmed.

This was not a new move. After the Battle of Badr, he had used assassination as a deterrence tactic, ordering the deaths of ‘Aṣma bint Marwān of Banū Umayya ibn Zayd[637], a poet in Upper Medina who had incited rebellion against Muḥammad; Abū ‘Afak, an elderly Jewish man of the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf in Upper Medina[638], who had composed similarly inflammatory poems against Muḥammad; and Ka‘b ibn al-Ashraf[639], another Jewish poet who had tried to rouse the Meccans to avenge Badr. According to al-Samhūdī, Ka‘b had also publicly humiliated Muḥammad, brazenly cutting the ropes of a tent that Muḥammad had erected to mark the start of a new tax-free *souk*, which he had inadvertently planned to establish on land owned by Ka‘b.[640] The latter not only resented the intrusion, but also saw Muḥammad's desire for a new market as an attempt to undermine the main Jewish market. For his part, Muḥammad had to find a location elsewhere, soon finding a decent area to the southwest of his mosque. His market doubtless provided him with significant wealth which, as an endowment, he could devote to the growth of his community.[641]

Modern readers with twenty-first century sensibilities might consider assassination a brutal and rather un-prophetlike means of dealing with political opposition, especially of poets, but seventh century Arabia was unlike today's world. It was harsh and brutal, with revenge killings being routine and communities at each other's throats over what today might seem unimportant matters of reputation and prestige.

Poetry barely makes any public impact in today's world, and is widely seen as a refined, sensitive and benign literary form with little or no ability to shape political discourse. In pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia, the opposite was true. Poetry was the most influential means of conveying news of events, passing judgment on them, shaping opinions, and rousing the public's emotions.[642] Poets — essentially tribal orators and itinerant troubadours — were powerfully instrumental in shaping perceptions of issues, with their poems spreading "faster than arrows throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula."[643] Everyone understood their impact. For example, pre-Islamic poetry reveals that victorious warriors sometimes set prisoners free without ransom merely because they feared the venom of an enemy poet.[644]

Despite the respect in which talented poets were held (except during wars or tribal quarrels when the opposite side's poets were despised), their eloquence and entrancing effect caused a widespread belief that, in fact, one's own poets were linked with the gods or magic whilst other tribes' poets were seen as being informed and inspired (and even possessed) by the *jinn* or devils. In a *sūrah* aptly called "The Poets" (*al-Shu'arā'* 26:221-225), the Qur'ān itself testifies to such a belief: هَلْ أُنَبِّئُكُمْ عَلَى مَن تَنَزَّلُ الشَّيَاطِينُ

تَنَزَّلُ عَلَى كُلِّ أَفَّاكٍ أَثِيمٍ
يُلْقُونَ السَّمْعَ وَأَكْثَرُهُمْ كَاذِبُونَ
وَالشُّعَرَاء يَتَّبِعُهُمُ الْغَاوُونَ
أَلَمْ تَرَ أَنَّهُمْ فِي كُلِّ وَادٍ يَهِيمُونَ
وَأَنَّهُمْ يَقُولُونَ مَا لَا يَفْعَلُونَ

221. Shall I tell you upon whom the Satans descend?
222. They descend on every sinful liar 223. They pass on whatever they hear and most are liars 224. And the poets, [and] those who follow them, are deviators 225. Do you not see that the poets wander distracted in every valley?
225. And they tell others to do what they do not do themselves Muḥammad had himself been called "a poet," "possessed," and "insane" during his years in Mecca. He was well aware that these insults were a backhanded compliment about the power and effect of the Qur'ānic

message that he preached. The Qur'ān reveals the nature of their taunts: "No, they say: tangled nightmares. No, he has invented it. No, he is a poet. Let him bring us a sign just as the ones of old were sent with signs."[645] The Qur'ān also comes to Muḥammad's defense: "Therefore remind them that, by the grace of your Lord, you are neither a soothsayer nor one possessed, or, they say, a poet for whom we await the misfortunes of fate. Say, Wait, for I shall be one of those waiting with you."[646]

It was widely believed that poets were not only instrumental in rousing the public — both for good and for evil — but also that, because of their supposed connection with the supernatural, their words might even have the power to speak blessings and curses into being. As a result, their impact on political and religious affairs was something that the Prophet worried about. He did not himself attribute any preternatural power to the poets, but he knew that poetry directed at him and the new focus on monotheism that he was trying to usher in could seriously set back the way that he and his message would be received. Harshly critical, mocking or insulting poetry could actually harden hearts and foster opposition.

Although a few historians claim that Muḥammad's "hatred of poetry was well known,"[647] and it is true that he disliked anyone mistaking Qur'ānic revelation for non-divine poetry, this claim of hatred is seriously overstated. Muḥammad was in fact impressed by beautiful speech and clever rhetoric,[648] and sometimes asked to hear recitations of poems such as the well-known *Bā'iyya* of the recently deceased non-Muslim poet, Qays ibn al-Khaṭīm.[649] He had several poets in his service, including Ḥāssan ibn Thābit and Kaʿb ibn Mālik, who directly drew upon the war poems of the pre-Islamic period for their inspiration.[650] Muḥammad instructed them to respond, as was the custom, when delegations arrived and their own poets began reciting.[651] "Stand up and answer the man," he would say to his poets after hearing another people's poet working his oratorical magic.[652] These poetic "boasting duels" (مفاخرات, *mufākharāt*) were an important ritualised part of seventh-century diplomacy.[653] He also had his poets recite poems during battles and sieges.[654] His favourite poet and satirist, Ḥāssan ibn Thābit, even claimed that he was himself an Islamic warrior, with his words being his sword[655], something Muḥammad surely agreed with

because the *Sīrah* literature contains several hundred of his poems (including many faked and doctored poems later attributed to him[656]), most of which were recited after battles, raids, and other major events. Muḥammad was particularly impressed by Ḥāssan's satire and, as well as having a special *minbar* (pulpit) built for him in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina[657], rewarded him with an estate and a wife.[658] But some poetry by the enemies of Islam was so pernicious and potentially harmful that Muḥammad believed a different response was necessary. It had to be stopped. Silencing those poets would be essential.

Critics of Islam are fond of highlighting Muḥammad's assassinations of poets and other political agitators, and of saying that this was an innovation that he introduced into an Arabia that had never seen it before. Even a few historians make this claim.[659] This is terribly inaccurate. In the pre-Islamic period, scores of poets had been assassinated by Arab rulers and tribal and clan leaders, and indeed by ordinary people who found themselves the subject of a poetic invective. Some cases were very famous at the time. Al-Ṭabarī tells us, for example, of the life and death of ʻAdī ibn Zayd al-ʻIbadi al-Tamīmī, a distinguished poet killed by Nuʻmān ibn al-Mundhir al-Lakhm, the Lakhmid Arab ruler, which was one of the actions that prompted the end of the Lakhmid kingdom and led to the celebrated Battle of Dhū Qār.[660] Around 250 years after the *Hijra*, an ʻAbbāsid scholar in Baghdād named Abū Jaʻfar Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb compiled *Asmā' al-Mughtālīn min al-Ashrāf fi al-Jāhiliya wa-l-Islām min Asmā' man Qutila min al-Shuʻarā',* a vast collection of accounts of people, especially poets, who had been killed during the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods.[661] His work certainly makes it clear that, despite the esteem in which poets were generally held, carelessly proclaiming verses against the wrong people could have severe consequences. It also makes clear that, far from Muḥammad having "an acute sensitivity to personal ridicule," he coped comparatively well with poetic insults and only ordered the execution of a poet if he saw the likelihood of a wider harmful impact.[662] It is also worth noting that some of Muḥammad's own colleagues were assassinated by rivals because of their connection to him. The best-known case is probably that of ʻUrwah ibn Masʻūd, one of the leaders of the Aḥlāf group of Banū Thaqīf in Ṭā'if, who was assassinated in the year 630 by one of the Banū Mālik, another group of the Thaqīf, who believed that ʻUrwa's close

relationship with Muḥammad, whom he accepted as a prophet, amounted to treason.[663]

Far being oversensitive to criticism or opposition, Muḥammad understood the complex tribal context in which he lived, and therefore demonstrated great patience with certain rivals, whom he made no effort to disrespect, let alone to kill. The period after Uḥud was a period of palpable tension within Medina, with complaints and recriminations swirling and with Qur'ānic revelations blaming "hypocrites" (منافقون, *Munāfiḳūn*) for what had gone so badly wrong and insisting that these hypocrites — whom everyone understood to mean ʻAbdullāh ibn Ubayy and his followers — were worse that non-believers. Muḥammad was naturally annoyed that Ibn Ubayy had withdrawn his three hundred followers before the battle and had then acted haughtily and with open pleasure after seeing Muḥammad's humiliation. Yet Muḥammad understood that Ibn Ubayy — who professed Islam and was therefore technically a Muslim who should not be harmed — was a legitimate and still-popular leading man of Banū Khazraj. If he allowed anyone to harm Ibn Ubayy, especially from the Banū Aws, a possibly irreparable split within his new religious community would occur. He therefore stayed on cordial and respectful terms with Ibn Ubayy, even if inside he felt great frustration that Ibn Ubayy had, after Badr, defended the Jewish Banū Qaynuqāʻ (whose support Ibn Ubayy had received during the Battle of Buʻāth in 617), had encouraged the Banū al-Naḍīr not to evacuate their homes when Muḥammad had ordered it, had contributed to gossip about his wife ʻĀ'isha bint Abī Bakr, and did not see other key issues the same way that Muḥammad did. At one point during the raid on Banū al-Muṣṭaliq in January 627, on which Ibn Ubayy participated, a bitter tribal squabble between the Aws and the Khazraj erupted over some nasty comments that Ibn Ubayy was supposed to have made. To prevent the incident from becoming violent, Muḥammad forbade anyone from harming Ibn Ubayy and immediately drove everyone home at a pace designed to exhaust them.[664]

Ibn Ubayy may have been a religious hypocrite (although some scholars say that his embrace of monotheism was probably genuine and owed a lot to his closeness to the Jews[665]), but he was politically astute enough to know that Muḥammad had become the paramount leader in Medina and that, even

if he could get away with complaining from time to time, he should not openly provoke dissention. He therefore went out on raids and even accompanied Muḥammad on the January 628 pilgrimage attempt that resulted in the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya. In October 630, Muḥammad launched a powerful pre-emptive campaign into Byzantine territory during a time of drought and food shortages. This created serious discontent in Medina. Ibn Ubayy expressed sympathy for those criticizing the campaign and, after initially leading his men out (including Jews, a fact seldom mentioned in later Muslim accounts[666]), soon withdrew them and led them home, as he had done at Uḥud. That possibly happened with Muḥammad's consent because of Ibn Ubayy's grave health problems.[667] When Ibn Ubayy died shortly after Muḥammad's return, in January 631, Muḥammad resisted showing happiness or any outward frustration about their many differences throughout the last eight years. He had reconciled with Ibn Ubayy during his last moments and (upon Ibn Ubayy's request) had even taken off his shirt so that Ibn Ubayy could be wrapped in it after death. He then respectfully attended his funeral and prayed over his grave.[668] Montgomery Watt concludes that, "throughout his dealings with Ibn Ubayy, Muḥammad showed great restraint."[669]

Muḥammad showed equal restraint in his dealings with his distant cousin Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, who had become his main antagonist after the Battle of Badr. Despite Abū Sufyān defeating him at Uḥud (and leading an even larger force against him at what became the Battle of the Trench), Muḥammad made no effort to have Abū Sufyān disempowered, let alone assassinated.[670] Indeed, they seem to have had a grudging respect for each other, with Muḥammad recognizing Abū Sufyān's well-bred and gentlemanly nature and Abū Sufyān admiring Muḥammad's leadership qualities and the loyalty they engendered. Being married to Abū Sufyān's daughter Ramla, better known as Umm Ḥabība, Muḥammad even later let his foe safely enter Medina for negotiations and to visit Umm Habība at her home.[671] He would essentially negotiate Mecca's surrender alone with Abū Sufyān, who would, after accepting Islam, go on to become a great Muslim military leader and provincial governor.

The Battle of the Trench Those halcyon days were still to come, and in March 627, Abū Sufyān led north from Mecca the 4,000-

strong Qurashī element (which included the *Aḥābīsh*, miscellaneous groups allied to Mecca) of what would become — when it joined outside of Medina with the approximately 1,800-man contingent of the Ghaṭafān, the 1,000 men of the Banū Asad, 700 of the Banū Sulaym, and unknown numbers of Jews from Khaybar — a massive and apparently insuperable coalition force that Muslim historians have symbolically (and substantially) rounded up to 10,000.[672] It was common in Arabia to exaggerate the strength of enemies and their equipment, thus making any victories over them seem all the more remarkable.[673]

The Quraysh funded this campaign rather cleverly. There was no central fund or agency for such eventualities, so they used social pressure as their means of getting everyone to contribute to the campaign. They widely proclaimed that no-one was exempt from paying, and that an amount lower than one *uqiya* (around eleven or twelve dirhams) would be rejected because of inadequacy.[674] They thereby managed to raise for the campaign what al-Wāqidī describes as "great wealth" (الأموال العظام).[675]

The sources indicate that the Ghaṭafān had accepted from the Jews of Khaybar a huge financial inducement (their date harvest for one year) to join the coalition. Abū Sufyān assumed overall responsibility for the coalition force[676], which was, with six hundred horses, unusually well configured to gain significant mobility.[677] Several thousand camels carried their supplies.

A force this big could never march forward from multiple locations and then concentrate and position itself for combat close to Medina without being detected from almost the moment that it set forth. When Muḥammad heard that enemy tribes were approaching from the north, northeast and south with a view to joining up to fight him, he must have felt intense trepidation. He could not survive another Uḥud-style defeat; indeed, he knew that if he lost again, he would be finished. But he trusted God, steeled his nerve, and began to prepare Medina's defence. His *Shūrā* had produced poor advice before the Battle of Uḥud, yet once again he consulted with his men.

Most of his advisors this time favoured fighting from within Medina's cluster of villages, several of which had what the sources call "the fortresses" (الآطام, *al-āṭām*), which were really just large mudbrick house-like structures and storerooms with thicker walls, stout doors, and fewer and narrower ground-level windows. These would offer decent protection, but only in the very short term (until food and water ran out), and the defenders could exploit local knowledge of the streets and alleys to make besiegers pay. More importantly, Muḥammad's advisors knew that another pitched battle against a much stronger force on open ground would lead to a second defeat.

In a moment of inspiration that is now a famous part of Islamic lore, a Persian convert to Muḥammad's teachings named Rouzbeh Khoshnudan, but now known almost exclusively as Salmān al-Fārisī ("Salmān the Persian"), stepped forward and suggested that they could augment a defense of the city by digging a trench across the city's open northern approaches.[678] This had, he said, been done in Persia and was especially effective against cavalry. He was correct about this. The Sassanids did use trenches or ditches in war.[679] Most famously, at the Battle of Thannuris a century earlier, in 528 CE, the Sassanids defeated the Byzantines in a clever battle that involved trenches.[680]

The early *Sīrah* sources do not detail the debate at the *Shūrā*, which is unusual given that they implausibly even describe many private conversations where no-one was present to record them. Yet al-Wāqidī, wanting Muḥammad to be the sole inspiration for everything good, puts in Muḥammad's own mouth the first mention of a trench ("Should we go out from Medina or should we stay inside and create a trench?").[681] This cannot be taken seriously and we should accept a reverse order. Salman proposed it, then Muḥammad, who saw its merit, sought views. In any event, "Salmān's advice pleased the Muslims," which pleased their prophet. They agreed to create the trench (known even to non-Arabic speaking Muslims as *al-Khandaq*, الخندق).

Even though the sources tell us approximately where the trench lay ("from the fortress of the two shaykhs on the side of Banū Ḥāritha until it reached al-Madhād"[682]), they do not give details of the trench's precise length and configuration and they say nothing about its width and depth

(beyond saying that at one point during its creation “it reached the height of a man”).[683] Frustratingly for historians, all traces of the trench have long disappeared and the modern city of Medina has expanded to cover with streets, houses and mosques the area where it may have been. Archaeological excavation to locate and measure the trench has never occurred, or, if it has, the findings are unpublished. Historians are thus unable to convey its location and dimensions with any certainty, and the thousands of books on this period contain maps with dramatically different depictions of the trench’s placement and proportions. A wise historian, unwilling to add to conjecture, can only say that Muḥammad’s followers dug a trench which was sufficiently long, wide and deep to do what its creators intended. That the Muslims dug a trench is attested to in sources outside of the *Sīrah* literature. For example, when the army of the Umayyad leader Yazīd I, led by his commander Muslim ibn ‘Uqba al-Murrī, marched upon Medina in August 683, around fifty years after Muḥammad’s death, the citizens prepared defences, including the re-excavation of Muḥammad’s trench, which still existed but weather had eroded.[684]

The earliest sources do not agree on how long it took to dig the trench, with al-Wāqidī and his student Ibn Sa‘d implausibly saying it took only six days.[685] Muḥammad had approximately three thousand adult men available for digging, and even teenage boys helped with the removal of the extracted dirt and rock. But there were many shirkers, people who disagreed with the possible success of a trench or found the work so arduous that they came up with excuses not to do it.[686] The Qur’ān later rebuked those people.[687] More importantly, digging by hand a continuous or even mainly continuous trench in the rocky ground (of volcanic basalt) almost six kilometers in length and of a sufficient width and depth to prevent both foot soldiers and cavalrymen from crossing it could not have taken only six days.[688] The workers did not even dig the trench both day and night. In an age before electric lighting, daylight hours had to suffice.[689]

The trench either took longer to dig (and al-Wāqidī does mention the fact that, throughout the siege, the Muslims continued to deepen and widen sections[690]), or it was a disconnected series of trenches behind which the Muslims could quickly move troops laterally if enemies tried to push through the gaps. The earliest sources do not allow us to know for sure whether the trench was continuous or merely a series of disconnected

sections. Al-Wāqidī hints at the latter by saying that his sources maintained there had been “entrances” (ابواب, *abwāb*) along the trench.[691] He does not elaborate, so the meaning remains unclear.

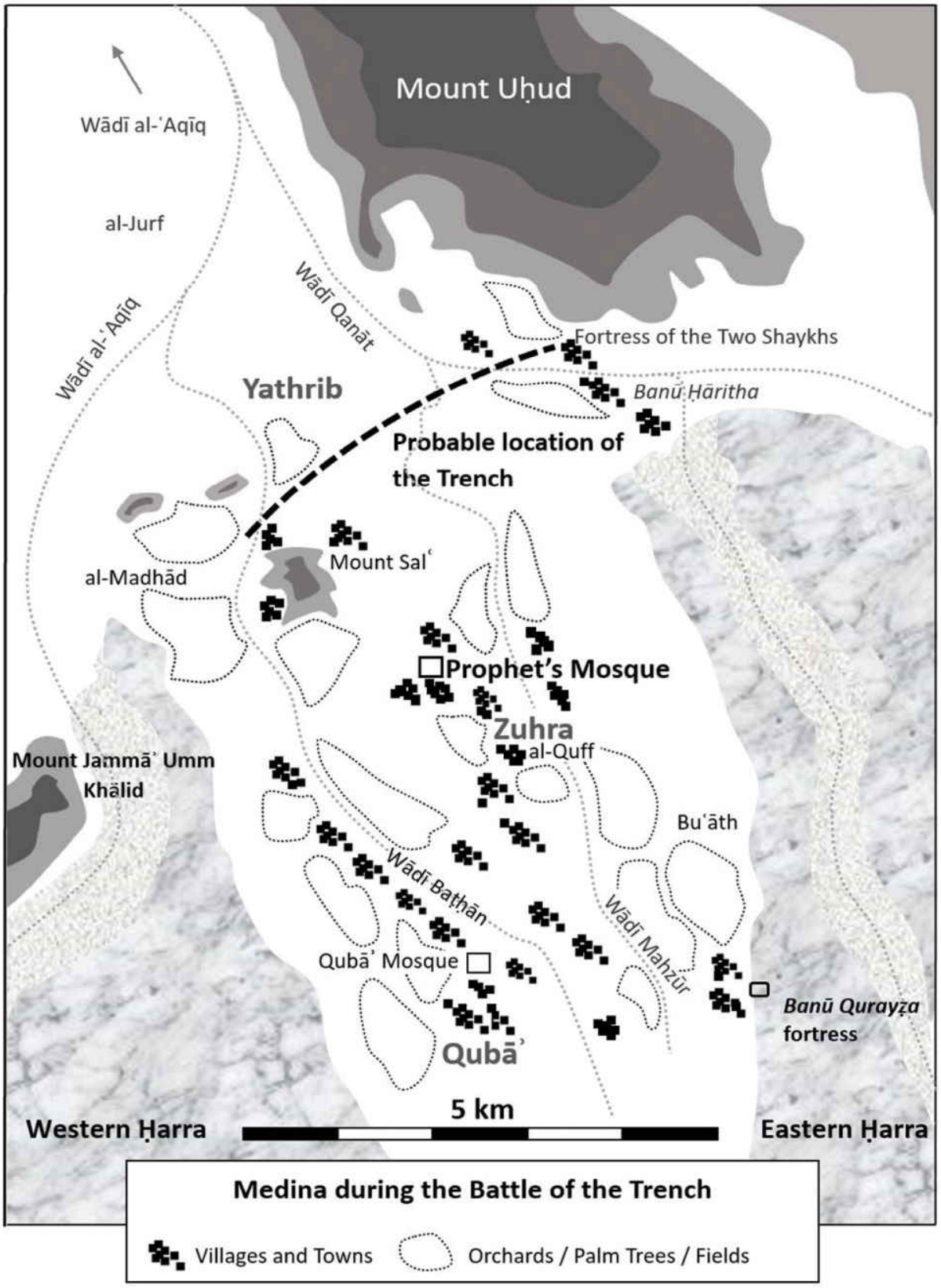

Figure 9. Medina during the Battle of the Trench

The implausibility of the claimed six days grows when one reads in al-Wāqidī that various Muslim groups also dug trenches around, and in other ways fortified, some of Medina's fortresses, all within these six days.[692] Of course, religious impulses drove Muḥammad, his followers, and his later chroniclers. Thus, the earliest extant accounts of the digging of the trench are unsurprisingly adorned with references to divine interventions (that are not mentioned in the Qur'ān). This divine assistance included Muḥammad cracking apart rocks that had frustrated all other men, turning rocky ground into soft sand with his spittle, seeing visions of future Islamic conquests outside Arabia, and miraculously transforming minute amounts of food into enough to feed a multitude. A reader with the same religious perspective might therefore argue that the God who graciously provided these miracles could also have facilitated the creation of a trench in an unnatural timescale.

In any event, the creation of the defensive trench in north Medina was a stunning achievement, without precedent in Arabian history, and Muḥammad, who ignored his advancing age to toil in the trench himself as an example to his followers, deserves significant credit for his organizational and motivational abilities. He assigned different sections of the trench to the men of his various peoples based on tribal affiliation, and allocated set numbers of men to specific lengths of trench.[693] Interestingly, although the Banū Qurayẓa, the only remaining Jewish tribal power in Medina, was not treaty-bound to fight with the Muslims, they were in a state of peace with Muḥammad and therefore contributed the loan of pickaxes, shovels, baskets and other implements.[694]

The Banū Qurayẓa's amicable and peaceful relations with Muḥammad and their adherence to an earlier agreement not to side with Muḥammad's enemies gave him the comfort of knowing that, if and when fighting began along the trench, he would not have to face an attack from his rear. The coalition troops north of the trench could not move to fight from that direction; orchards and rough ḥarrāt (solidified lava flows) effectively closed off three sides of Medina. Cavalry could not cross a *ḥarra*.[695] With the Banū Qurayẓa providing moral and non-military support, all Muḥammad had to worry about were the enemies pressing down upon his trench from the north.

He would not have long to wait for the coalition forces to take up

positions north of the trench. The vast swarm entered the valley from the north via the Wādī al-‘Aqīq, as they had for the battle of Uḥud, and spread out in front of their two camps, with the Ghaṭafān on the left of their line (that is, to the east) near to Mount Uḥud and with the Quraysh and their associated groups on the right of their line (to the west).

They were a fearsome sight, and the Qur’ān (*Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:10-13) speaks of the impact of their vast mass on the Muslims’ morale: إِذْ جَاؤُوكُم مِّن فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتْ الْأَبْصَارُ وَبَلَغَتِ الْقُلُوبُ الْحَنَاجِرَ وَتَظُنُّونَ بِاللَّهِ الظُّنُونَا
هُنَالِكَ ابْتُلِيَ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا زِلْزَالاً شَدِيداً
وَإِذْ يَقُولُ الْمُنَافِقُونَ وَالَّذِينَ فِي قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ مَّا وَعَدَنَا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ إِلَّا غُرُوراً
وَإِذْ قَالَت طَّائِفَةٌ مِّنْهُمْ يَا أَهْلَ يَثْرِبَ لَا مُقَامَ لَكُمْ فَارْجِعُوا وَيَسْتَأْذِنُ فَرِيقٌ مِّنْهُمُ النَّبِيَّ يَقُولُونَ إِنَّ بُيُوتَنَا عَوْرَةٌ وَمَا هِيَ بِعَوْرَةٍ إِن يُرِيدُونَ إِلَّا فِرَاراً

> 10. When they came upon you from above you and from below you, and when your eyes grew panicked, and your hearts were in your throats, and when you imagined vain thoughts about Allah 11. There the believers were tested, being shaken with a severe shock 12. And when the hypocrites and those in whose hearts was a disease said, “Allah and His Messenger have promised us nothing but a delusion”
> 13. And when a group of them said, “O people of Yathrib, you cannot withstand [the enemy] so return to [to your homes],” and when a group of them asked for permission from the Prophet, saying, “Indeed our houses are vulnerable,” although they were not vulnerable, they wanted nothing but to flee.

This fear gripped the Muslims throughout the entire siege[696], yet on the whole they performed dutifully and successfully, which is testament to Muḥammad’s highly developed leadership abilities. To keep a fearful body of men obedient, functional and effective is no mean feat, especially when they are also freezing and hungry and have no chance of material reward.

The size of an army sometimes matters less than its composition, capacity and condition. In these regards, the mighty coalition forces that joined up in the valley north of the trench were not well placed to sustain a lengthy

campaign, meaning anything longer than a few days. No Arab tribes at that stage had what we might call an army; a regular full-time force of trained warriors who could draw upon organized and sufficient logistics and had been trained to fight in formation using well-drilled offensive and defensive manoeuvres. The typical tribal forces were ideally suited to hunt-and-pounce types of raids, and to the Uḥud-style pitched battles that might be over in an hour or two of frenetic *mêlée*, thus allowing the troops almost immediately to go home, ideally with booty, before they had run out of food and other provisions.

Abū Sufyān's huge force was no different. Initially well supplied when the various tribal groups set of from their home locations, they had consumed most of their food by the time that they arrived in Medina. They expected to graze their animals locally, fight a quick and frenzied battle, crush or outmanoeuvre Muḥammad's line, and loot Medina, before returning home with the booty and the prestige.

To their distress, the great tribal groups were unable to live off Medina's crops, as they had done before the Battle of Uḥud. Only a month before their arrival, the Muslims had harvested their crops and cut and collected all the straw.[697] This caused serious problems for the arriving attackers, whose horses would soon consume all the corn they had brought with them. They took their horses to graze in the remnants of the straw, which immediately proved inadequate, causing them to send their horses and camels out to the neighbouring wādīs and valleys in search of sustenance.[698] Camels could of course eat from the dry and thorny desert trees and bushes that horses could not eat from, but even these were scarce. Al-Wāqidī notes that starvation immediately began to destroy the coalition's horses.[699] This was not an auspicious start to their battle.

To the Quraysh, Ghaṭafān and allies, who only understood war to involve either rapid raids or set-piece battles involving pressing lines of men heroically risking themselves in combat with spears and swords, and with shields protecting eyes and throats from descending arrows, the trench must have seemed to be a mystifying, unpleasant, and ignoble creation. How could warhorses charge? How could the decisive and manly spear-play occur? How could gleaming swords strike each other? How could victory come? How could booty be taken? *That* was Arabian warfare, not this great snaking cut across the stony ground that would keep the two sides apart. Al-

Wāqidī quotes from a moaning post-battle letter from Abū Sufyān to Muḥammad in which the former made this exact complaint.[700] Yet war — especially an existential contest in which one side's defeat would mean its destruction — invariably places a profound burden on a responsible leader to do whatever is necessarily to avoid that destruction. The trench was certainly unprecedented and un-Arabian, but it was also, from the Muslim side, eminently understandable and hopefully unassailable.

Muḥammad organised his 3,000 men along the line, establishing his own camp (with a leather tent for himself[701]) on the lower slope of Mount Sal‘, a large rocky protrusion on the left of his own line less than one kilometre from his main mosque and home. The fact that he now had a leather tent, which had actually made its first appearance during the siege of the Banū al-Naḍīr[702], shows how far he had progressed in only a few years. A leather tent was enormously expensive and luxurious and was a profound sign — especially among the peoples of the desert, who may have gifted it to him — of a chieftain's or noble's wealth, power and authority.[703] It was a stamp of his great status and legitimacy.

From his position on Mount Sal‘ he could scan almost the entire line of the trench. Throughout the century since the First World War, we have commonly understood military trenches to be long and deep excavated lines in the ground, in which soldiers would live and fight beneath ground-level, protected from machine-guns and indirect artillery fire and occasionally having to make charges "over the top". Muḥammad's trench was not like that. The defending Muslims did fight from within it. The trench was only a barrier, an obstacle to prevent the enemy from advancing into Medina, where the Muslim women, children and elderly were safely ensconced in the scattered *āṭām* (*uṭum*, singular), small fortresses in each of Medina's many villages and towns. With the excavated stone and dirt doubtless elevating the Muslim side of the trench above the attacker's side, it was more akin to a waterless moat. Muḥammad's men remained on the south side, with the villages, fortresses, mosques, markets, and orchards of Medina to their back.

Their defensive strength was considerable. They were close to their sources of food and water, which, despite a general drought existing in the northern Ḥijāz, meant that they were physically far better off than the attackers. To gain any strategic initiative, the attackers would have to

expend considerable energy and expose themselves to great danger as they tried to get across the trench, whereas the defenders — grouped into *Muhājirūn* and *Anṣār* sections, as always — only had to guard it passively and respond from their defences, primarily with arrows and rocks and stones, whenever the attackers tried to get across. To have a constant surveillance of the trench, Muḥammad had thirty horsemen riding along its length, working in shifts both day and night.[704]

That did not deter the coalition from making attempts to get foot soldiers and cavalrymen across the trench or around its flanks, some of them initially succeeding before being attacked in strength by concentrations of strategically placed Muslims. Most importantly, despite valiant efforts both by day and night the coalition's cavalry could not get around or behind the Muslims in order to exploit their great speed and mobility. At times they tried to overwhelm the defenders by striking heavily at several different sections of the line all at once, but they were pushed back each time. Without having any dramatic big-picture strategic manoeuvres to describe, the earliest sources depict these individual encounters in lengthy, vivid and heroic detail. But the reality was all very mundane: a rather predictable and undramatic impasse quickly emerged and became the daily norm, with the attackers trying but failing to seize the initiative whilst quickly running out of food and supplies, coming off worse than the Muslim defenders, who would "win" — meaning survive — if they could stay disciplined, vigilant and patient.

Ill-discipline and impatience had cost the Muslims everything at Uḥud two years earlier, as they well knew. They therefore did much better this time, with the total lack of prospects for gaining booty helping them with their self-control. Aware of the existential risk that might develop from any lapses, they patrolled with vigilance and discipline despite the biting cold.[705] They made very few mistakes, except when, on occasion, groups of Muslims met other Muslims on patrol at night and sometimes attacked them, unaware in the darkness that they were their fellows. Muḥammad absolved them of wrongdoing, promised that those who were killed in this way would enter Paradise as martyrs, and re-emphasized the critical need to use the assigned daily passwords.[706]

The earliest sources do not agree on how long the impasse lasted before the coalition essentially lost its will to persevere and separated into its

constituent parts, which quietly withdrew and went their own ways home. The range goes from ten days to forty. Most plausibly, Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī say that the two sides faced each other across the trench for "over twenty nights, nearly a month, with no real fighting between them, except for the shooting of arrows and the [pressure] of the siege itself."[707] The phrase "no real fighting" underscores how successful Muḥammad's trench was at separating both sides. Only nine men died throughout this mighty contest of wills: six Muslims and three from the Quraysh, most of them killed by arrows and other projectiles.[708]

Failure to achieve any results whatsoever, the death of most camels and horses, and severe and increasing hardship and hunger were not the only factors to demoralise Abū Sufyān's grand coalition.[709] Efforts by Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab al-Nadrī, the expelled Naḍīr leader now living in Khaybar, to entice the Banū Qurayẓa to attack the Muslims from within Medina had resulted in the Qurayẓa's leader Ka'b ibn Asad al-Qurayẓī ripping up its non-aggression agreement with Muḥammad and a few of its young men marauding in the streets while the Muslim men were away defending the city's northern approaches (actions that would later cost the Qurayẓa dearly). Yet Ḥuyayy failed to get the Qurayẓa to take up arms in any meaningful way. Despite hasty initial promises, they would not join the coalition. Rumours that they were about to do so nonetheless reached Muḥammad, who sensibly despatched Salama ibn Aslam ibn Ḥuraysh al-Ashhalī with two hundred men, alternating each day with Zayd ibn Ḥāritha's three hundred men, to patrol the city with as many horses as could be spared, loudly proclaiming *takbīr* ("Allāhu Akbar!") just in case.[710]

The very cold weather chilled both sides to the bone[711], but when a powerful and icy wind devastated the coalition's camps, ripping out tents, extinguishing fires, and blowing over cooking pots[712], the Muslims suffered far less from the wind. They had mudbrick houses nearby in which those not on the fighting shifts could temporarily shelter. They were also able to bring extra blankets out to keep the frontline warriors warm and wrapped up tightly in their positions while they guarded the trench.[713] Even Muḥammad prayed wrapped in a woollen blanket.[714]

The Prophet and his followers understood the shocking wind to be God's great provision, a view later reinforced by a Qur'ānic revelation (*Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:9): يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اذْكُرُوا نِعْمَةَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَاءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ

فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحاً وَجُنُوداً لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا وَكَانَ اللّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيراً

9. O you who believe! Remember Allah's favor upon you when the hosts came down on you, and We sent upon them the wind and [angelic] hosts that you could not see. And Allah sees all that you do.

Muḥammad deserves the lion's share of credit for what can only be described as a fabulous result for his community. It was never going to be the type of battle that could produce a "victory" for one side and a "defeat" for the other — meaning that the winning side would be able to impose its own demands on the losing side. Yet, after the coalition had collapsed and withdrawn, having utterly failed to achieve its goal of destroying Muḥammad and his community, the Quraysh and their allies were aware of both their own humiliation and the fact that there was now nothing more that they could do, at least in the near future, to rid Arabia of Muḥammad. The Prophet, on the other hand, was able to say without the slightest exaggeration that his community had achieved its goal. It had taken the very worst that all its enemies *combined* could throw at it, and survived.

The political skill demonstrated by Muḥammad must be highlighted. At one point towards the end of the siege, he opened secret negotiations with the Banū Ghaṭafān, offering to give ʻUyayna ibn Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī, who entered Muḥammad's camp in a state of *ʻamān* (أمـان[715], agreed safety, one-third of Medina's date harvest if they would withdraw from the siege.[716] After unsuccessfully trying to negotiate upwards, ʻUyayna agreed to the deal. Muḥammad asked ʻUthmān ibn ʻAffān to draw up a contract. But before the plan came to fruition, Muḥammad consulted with senior *Anṣārī* colleagues, who were aghast and asked him to reconsider giving away their wealth to their longtime enemy. They would give the Ghaṭafān "nothing but the sword!" Muḥammad, always the man of *Shūrā*, duly accepted their advice and withdrew his offer. ʻUyayna returned to his camp emptyhanded, but painfully aware that the Quraysh would soon learn what he had tried to do (disloyally swap sides to accept the best financial outcome) and would despise and mock the Ghaṭafān's unfaithfulness. They would henceforth not be able to count on any reciprocal loyalty. Even worse, ʻUyayna had seen firsthand how firmly Muḥammad's men were committed to fighting. Far from being on the point of collapse after weeks of siege, as ʻUyayna had hoped, they were still aggressive and fiery.[717] The Ghaṭafān withdrew soon

thereafter.

Although the sources do not say so, it is probable that this affair was only artful political theatre on Muḥammad's part. If he was serious about gaining peace for a price, which was itself an eminently reasonable thing to do, he would have persevered with his offer to ʻUyayna and not given in to the *Anṣārī* leaders. They had already affirmed to him on that occasion that they would comply with their *bayʻa* and "listen to and obey" him, even if his decision was merely personal intuition and not a direct revelation from God.[718] Creating an opportunity to expose the Ghaṭafān's duplicity would seriously undermine the integrity of the coalition. If this was Muḥammad's plan, it was a clever move with a highly desirable outcome.

Muḥammad exploited another opportunity to create a rift between the coalition partners when a prominent member of the Ghaṭafān, Nuʻaym ibn Masʻūd al-Ashjaʻī, secretly came to see him, having also received a pledge of *ʻamān*.[719] He informed the Prophet that he had been in the coalition camp when the envoy of the Banū Qurayẓa had come to Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and ʻUyayna ibn Ḥiṣn, informing them that the Quraysh was prepared to attack the Muslims from within the city, thus effectively trapping them between frontal and rear attacks.

Nuʻaym then told Muḥammad that he had watched the coalition's strength decrease dramatically through drought and the death of most sheep, camels and horses, and, more importantly, he informed the delighted Muḥammad that he had decided to defect.[720] He would accept Muḥammad's religion and leadership. He asked Muḥammad how he could be of service, and, after learning that no-one yet knew of Nuʻaym's conversion, Muḥammad sent him back to the coalition to sow discord between the coalition partners.[721] He knew that Nuʻaym was trusted and respected by all parties. They would listen to his counsel.

Nuʻaym did exactly that, but first he travelled to the Qurayẓa leaders within Medina and told them that, even if they joined the fight against Muḥammad, and they proved victorious, they would not benefit. The Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān would merely use them to gain the victory, then leave them with nothing afterwards. If, on the other hand, the Qurayẓa fought the Muslims and the coalition looked likely to lose, the Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān would flee the city, leaving the Qurayẓa all alone to face an outraged and vengeful Muḥammad. The only way to guarantee that the

Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān would not desert them would be to ask for around seventy of their key men to stay as hostages in the Qurayẓa fortress. The Qurayẓa leaders agreed that this was the only viable strategy, and said that they would send an envoy to make this demand.

Then Nu‘aym travelled speedily back to Abū Sufyān and, separately, to ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn, falsely telling both of them that he had heard that the Qurayẓa had come to regret abandoning their state of peace with Muḥammad and had returned to it. In accordance with their renewed pact with Muḥammad, the Qurayẓa would deceitfully be demanding hostages in return for their military contribution, but the hostages would be handed over to Muḥammad for execution.

Abū Sufyān and ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn assured Nu‘aym that they would never consent to this outrageous request for hostages, which in fact they duly told the Qurayẓa’s envoy when he arrived at their camps asking for hostages, thus seeming to confirm the truth of Nu‘aym’s information. The Qurayẓa envoy then returned home to his leaders and told them that, as a result of these firm rejections, the Qurayẓa should withhold its support entirely. They confirmed that they would indeed not march out against Muḥammad.

When Abū Sufyān sent ‘Ikrima the son of Abū Jahl secretly into the city to double-check whether the Qurayẓa would fight or not, the Qurayẓa replied that, as the next day would be the Sabbath, they would not march out to fight.[722] And even after that they would not do so unless the Quraysh and the Ghaṭafān would provide hostages as a sign that they would stay and fight Muḥammad to the bitter end. ‘Ikrima took this news back to a dejected Abū Sufyān, who, believing that ‘Ikrima’s news again confirmed Nu‘aym’s story, knew now that he could not rely on the Qurayẓa. With his warriors starving and most of his animals dead, with the appalling weather making life insufferable, with no means of getting across the trench, and now with no likelihood of an ally attacking Muḥammad from the rear, Abū Sufyān realized that it was time to give up. An almost identical process occurred when the Ghaṭafān sent Mas‘ūd ibn Rukhayla secretly into Medina to ask the Qurayẓa to fight. He also returned to the Ghaṭafān with the news that the Qurayẓa were unlikely ever to fight. Dejected, they reached the same conclusion as Abū Sufyān. The siege was over. It had failed. It was time to go home.

The Battle of the Trench ended for Muḥammad with a happy anticlimax.

He woke up the next morning to find that the enemy had quietly just turned around and left. His scouts confirmed that the enemy were no longer in the vicinity, so Muḥammad let his exhausted men go home to their wives and families. After weeks of cold, hunger and fatigue, the Muslims could not leave quickly enough. They rushed off with an energy that he had not seen in recent days. The Prophet then thought that, for the sake of prudence — just in case the enemy were still close, and might learn that the Muslims had rushed home — he should call them back. He sent his heralds to recall them by emphatically announcing that "The Messenger of Allah commands you to return!"[723] Cold, hungry, tired and homesick, no-one listened. The heralds brought back news to Muḥammad that everyone had dispersed and entered their homes. Understanding how well they had done in recent weeks, and that they had amply earned this happy reward, Muḥammad merely laughed.

Mu’ta It is clear that none of the three pitched battles already mentioned — Badr, Uḥud and the Trench —had been intended or initiated as battles by Muḥammad (although he had certainly provoked Badr by threatening a major Qurashī caravan). In all three battles, Muslims had fought defensively. That pattern would not continue. Henceforth, Muḥammad would lead or send forces from Medina and later from Mecca with the express purpose of bringing enemies to battle. This is not to say that he liked war; only that he understood and exploited its instrumental ability to accomplish strategic goals and facilitate the changes in Arabia that he intended to make.

He began immediately. Quite clearly, the Banū Qurayẓa, the only Jewish polity still in Medina, had behaved very poorly, and Muḥammad realized that, as long as this tribe remained in Medina, his Islamic community would never be able to take its security for granted. As soon as he returned home from his tent on Mount Sal‘, he besieged the Banū Qurayẓa fortresses and, after three weeks or so, imposed the most severe measures upon them. That will be discussed in the following section.

After humiliating the Quraysh, the Ghaṭafān and their allies in the Battle of the Trench, and then defeating the Qurayẓa in Medina, by April 627 Muḥammad was unquestionably one of the most powerful men in the Ḥijāz; indeed, perhaps in all of Arabia. But that does not mean that the Ḥijāz was subdued or that his authority and prestige were yet stable. And he had not yet won over some of the tribes to the north and east or gained control of Mecca (something that was doubtless emerging as a realistic goal) and Ṭā’if. To advance his objectives, he returned to raiding, which had the interrelated benefits of enriching his emerging state through booty, satisfying recognized Arabian behavioral and social norms, providing a widening buffer zone around Medina, and exerting authority and control over an ever-increasing area to the detriment of his enemies. In this sense, he was not only a man of consequence; he was also very much a seventh-century Arab chieftain going about things in ways that the peoples with him and around him would understand. That is not to say that he was nothing more, or that he brought nothing different. On the contrary, he was a

religious reformer with a clear message of strict monotheism, piety and moral decency, who saw his mission in terms of ushering in the End of Days, for which he must ready all the peoples around him. They must be delivered from the risk of damnation, one way or another.

Throughout the next two years he sent out fourteen more hunt-and-pounce raids — some with only a handful of warriors and others with as many as 500 or 700 — and led two himself. He also entered into a formal non-aggression treaty with the Quraysh in March 628 and successfully besieged the Jews of Khaybar a few weeks later (both of which will be discussed below). He even led a pilgrimage of around 2,000 followers from Medina to Mecca in March 629, which represents a marvelous *volte-face* in his relations with his hometown. He also launched several major offensive campaigns in order to further his strategic goals through pitched battle.

In September 629, Muḥammad raised a huge force of around 3,000 warriors and sent it, under the leadership of Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, his adopted son, far north into the territory of the Ghassanids, the Arab vassal state that provided the Byzantine Empire with a protective buffer on its southern Syrian border. The Muslims were pushed back and suffered defeat in a skirmish at Mu'ta, a small agricultural settlement fifteen kilometers southeast of the Dead Sea in what is now Jordan. It is now presented by Islamic writers as a disaster, with Zayd and between seven and eleven other Muslims dying in battle.[724] Yet in real terms, if one can put aside Zayd's closeness to the Prophet, it was actually only a minor setback with no lasting consequences.

The earliest Arabic narrative sources do not adequately explain Muḥammad's motive in sending 3,000 warriors so far north (over 1,000 kilometers from Medina). Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī are silent on this issue. Following al-Wāqidī as usual, Ibn Sa'd suggests that Muḥammad wanted to punish the Ghassanids who had killed his envoy, al-Ḥārith ibn 'Umayr al-Azdī, who had been caught journeying north with Muḥammad's message to the King of Busra in what is now southern Syria.[725]

This seems highly unlikely. Muḥammad had travelled into Syria during his days as a merchant. He knew that both the Byzantine "Romans" and their Arab vassals on the border of Arabia had long possessed powerful standing armies and strategically situated and well-provisioned garrison posts. Although the Byzantines were then in the process of reclaiming the

regions known today as Syria and Jordan from Sassanid occupiers as part of a treaty, and thus a kind of power vacuum might have then existed, Muḥammad was far too astute to risk a bloody pitched battle merely to avenge a single envoy, no matter how disgraceful the killing of an ambassador may have seemed.

In addition, for a revenge mission, a secret operation by a much smaller group of raiders would have been far more likely to succeed, being able to move more quickly and discretely, hide by day, strike unexpectedly, and then withdraw immediately. Montgomery Watt believes that the Mu'ta campaign was part of a "mysterious 'northern' policy," which he does not explain beyond saying that Muḥammad was "intensely interested in the route to the north."[726] He points out that two previous raids had been to the far north as part of this "policy," but frustratingly offers no evidence for what lay at its heart.

Some modern writers say the 3,000 men who marched north to Mu'ta did so not only to avenge al-Ḥārith ibn 'Umayr al-Azdī, but also to avenge a small fifteen-man mission led by Ka'b ibn 'Umayr al-Ghifārī that Muḥammad had sent north in July 629 for reasons that are not explained.[727] When it encountered people at Dhāt Āṭlāḥ, near what is now al-'Aqaba, Ka'b's party called them to Islam, only to be attacked by archers before a small battle killed all but one.[728]

Sending forth a lumbering and visible force of 3,000 warriors to avenge these fourteen men also makes no sense (for the same reasons). We have two cases which provide a useful comparison. When Muḥammad attacked the Banū Liḥyān in July 627 to avenge his men killed at al-Rajī' exactly two years earlier, he took only two hundred men.[729] Despite his best effort to advance secretly —heading off in the opposite direction, using an indirect route and marching by night — the force was too big to remain undetected. Alerted, the enemy dispersed to strong mountain-top positions.[730] Similarly, when Muḥammad's adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha barely survived a highway ambush by the Banū Fazāra on a mercantile mission to Syria in November or December 627, Muḥammad waited until Zayd's wounds healed and then sent him back to exact revenge. The number of raiders he sent is not given, but, on his instructions, it moved discretely, hiding by day and moving by night, and thereby managed to catch the enemy unawares. This method and its success mean that there

were probably far fewer than two hundred raiders.[731] We are therefore left to agree with Karen Armstrong, who notes that the Mu'ta expedition "remains something of a mystery".[732]

It is possible, of course that Muḥammad was trying to learn whether the Byzantines had already reclaimed the region from the Sassanids, who had agreed to pull back their armies in accordance with a treaty signed only a few months earlier.[733] Wanting to understand the shifting regional power dynamics, Muḥammad may have sent the force north into Syria as strategic reconnaissance, testing the nature of defenses and the strength of any resistance in advance of a future campaign. He surely foresaw the enormous importance of extending his authority to the Arabic speaking Bedouins and townsfolk living in the northernmost edge of the Ḥijāz and the southern regions of Syria, or at least of finding a way to establish mutually beneficial security and trade relations with them. Some writers go even further, and argue that Muḥammad may have been seeking to acquire the famously high-quality swords that were made in Masharif[734], where the Muslims first encountered the larger enemy force before withdrawing, pursued by the enemy, to Mu'ta, where they had to make a stand.[735]

Whatever motivated Muḥammad, his 3,000 men set off after having "equipped themselves" (فتجهز الناس), an interesting phrase which shows that, even after seven years since the *Hijra*, Muslim warriors were still providing their own armor, weapons and food.[736] There was still not yet a central armory or logistics depot. They would come in time, under Muḥammad's successors. The earliest surviving narrative sources say nothing about how many horses and camels Zayd's warriors had, or whether the warriors were all able to ride or still had to take turns alternating between riding the camels and walking (Arabs travelled on foot or upon camels, keeping their horses fresh for battle[737]). The poetry within those sources, expressed in language strikingly similar to and using *topoi* identical to those found in pre-Islamic poetry, nonetheless resounds with glorification of the horses that at Mu'ta they rode into battle, which had gorged in ample pastures during the long journey north, and of gleaming-mail-adorned warriors valiantly killing enemies with spears and swords before dying heroically in a heated *mêlée*.[738]

Reconstructing the battle is very hard, because the narrative sources and

poetry focus on the heroic combat and the deaths of Muslim martyrs, including Zayd, Ja‘far ibn Abī Ṭalib (Muḥammad’s cousin and ‘Alī’s brother) and ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥa, rather than the big picture. Neither strategy nor tactics is described, let alone explained. The sources also vastly exaggerate the strength of the enemy force that Zayd’s 3,000 men encountered and fought at Mu’ta. Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī say that the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius had brought 100,000 Greeks (meaning Byzantines), and that his Arab auxiliaries also numbered 100,000.[739] Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d say that the combined force under Heraclius had half that strength, numbering a still unbelievable 100,000.[740] Perhaps the chroniclers felt than the Muslims’ defeat had to be explained away, because of subsequent accusations of cowardice, and that the only way to do that was to show that the surviving Muslims were right to flee from an impossibly large force.

Interestingly, the Battle of Mu’ta was the first Islamic push outside Arabia (and the first actual event in Muḥammad’s life) to feature in a non-Islamic account: that of the Byzantine monk Theophanes the Confessor. Theophanes says that the Muslims’ advance was detected and intercepted, that its purpose was to attack Christian Arabs, that it was led by four leaders, and that the Byzantine force “killed three of them and most of their army, but one emir, Khalid (whom they call the sword of God), got away.”[741] The claim that “most of the army” had been killed is interesting (and possible), but Theophanes’s account is not entirely reliable. He also says that Muḥammad was already dead by then, and that Abū Bakr was the leader who sent the force north. The earliest Arabic sources for the battle are probably no more accurate.

Walter E. Kaegi, an authority on the Byzantine response to the early Islamic offenses, demonstrates that, in fact, Heraclius was not present and may not have even learned of the battle for a year or more, and that Constantinople had not yet extended its own military presence over that part of al-Shām (the Arabic word that roughly equates to the Levant) after the Sassanids began evacuating it according to their agreement with Heraclius. Kaegi also clarifies that the force that the Muslims encountered was made up exclusively of local Arab tribes, namely the Lakhm, Judhām, al-Qayn, Bahra and Bali.[742] Most importantly, he says that the force encountered at Mu’ta by the Muslims probably numbered no more than 10,000.[743]

Three-to-one is still a huge imbalance, and the Muslims did very well to escape with so few losses. Before they withdrew, they had fought cleverly and bravely, with the three leaders — Zayd, Ja‘far, and ‘Abdullāh — being slain one after the other while trying to defend the Prophet’s flag. When Muḥammad eventually learned this, it caused him deep and lengthy sorrow. Khālid ibn al-Walīd, that master of mounted mobility, apparently employed clever tactics allowing the Muslims to inflict some casualties, extricate themselves (by turning his rearguard around and hastily creating from it a front), and withdraw quickly enough to prevent a pursuit. Yet the earliest Arabic sources say that no more than twelve Muslims died out of three thousand — that is, only 0.4% — which is an extremely (and oddly) low death total.

If this figure is accepted, it actually indicates that the clash was merely a spontaneous contact battle that occurred after the Muslims were heading back to Arabia, rather than a pitched battle in which both sides sought to slug it out until they reached some type of decisive outcome. It is therefore surprising that some apologists have referred to the “great loss to the Muslims” at Mu’ta[744], and, even more oddly, that some have tried to turn it into a type of victory: “The battle was a real miracle proving that the Muslims were something exceptional not then known. Moreover, it gave evidence that Allah backed them and their Prophet, Muḥammad, was really Allah’s Messenger”.[745] This is stunningly misleading. Mu’ta was neither a decisive battle nor a deadly battle, and it ended in losses and withdrawal for the Muslims who had nothing whatsoever to show for it. Muḥammad had not been involved in its conduct, so he cannot be blamed. Indeed, he was so distressed when he learned of the death of his loved ones that he planned to avenge it when he could.

When the 3,000 warriors returned to Medina, news of their defeat had already reached the oasis. The Muslim community was very unhappy that the men had not chosen to fight to the bitter end, becoming martyrs for Islam, but had chosen to live to fight another day.[746] After all, the Qur’ān (*Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:15-16, revealed at Badr) had been clear: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ إِذَا لَقِيتُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ زَحْفاً فَلاَ تُوَلُّوهُمُ الأَدْبَارَ
وَمَن يُوَلِّهِمْ يَوْمَئِذٍ دُبُرَهُ إِلاَّ مُتَحَرِّفاً لِّقِتَالٍ أَوْ مُتَحَيِّزاً إِلَى فِئَةٍ فَقَدْ بَاء بِغَضَبٍ مِّنَ اللّهِ وَمَأْوَاهُ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ

15. O you who believe, when you meet the unbelievers advancing, never turn your backs on them.
16. If anyone turns his back, unless it is as a strategy of war, or to join a different group [of warriors], then he has earned the wrath of Allah and his abode is hell, a wretched place.

The people did not understand that these verses referred to individual cowards who deserted their friends in battle. The Prophet would never want his people to throw away their lives *en masse* in a reckless and pointless battle against a greatly superior foe, especially when no existential necessity existed. Unable to grasp this point, and with no booty to compensate for the failure of the campaign, the people of Medina flung sand in the faces of the returning fighters and jeered at and mocked them, calling them cowards and deserters.[747] Muḥammad had to correct them, saying that, yes, a tactical retreat was perfectly acceptable if it meant that the fighters would soon return to gain revenge. These men would return to Syria, he assured the people, who were not easy to mollify.

Incidentally, four months later in January 630, the embarrassment of Mu'ta would be replaced by the widespread Muslim joy at their greatest victory; a victory so dazzling that few could have considered it possible: the conquest of Mecca. To understand how this happened, one must go back almost two years, to March 628.

The Conquest of Mecca It is hard to determine when Muḥammad decided to capture Mecca and transform its *ḥaram*, or sacred space, into a sanctuary for Allah alone, to the exclusion of all the Gods worshipped there by Meccans and pilgrims. He may have always desired to return to his home city, but for quite a few years after the *Hijra* in September 622 there was absolutely no chance of him doing so. After the defeat and humiliation of the Battle of Uḥud in March 525, it would seem unlikely that anyone including Muḥammad could have felt any realistic hope of taking Mecca. But the years following Uḥud were full of steady strengthening, and hope must have returned. During the Battle of the Trench in April

627, the Quraysh had thrown everything at him, including powerful allies, and he and his people had come through physically unscathed and morally uplifted.

It is also worth noting that Muḥammad was a passionately religious man who saw himself not only as a conduit for God's wisdom and words, but as an agent of God's will. Considerations of what is humanly realistic or achievable were far less important to him than the belief that God has limitless power and is capable of creating change or delivering outcomes that other leaders would consider impossible. Muḥammad believed that, as a divinely assigned prophet, he could even pursue gloriously outsized goals that would seem beyond any other man's grasp. The certainty that God was on his side — or more accurately, that he was on God's side — allowed him to mount a courageous, spirited and effective response to vastly greater enemy forces in most of the large battles he fought, including those of Badr, Uḥud and the Trench. One victory, one defeat (two if Mu'ta is included, although Muḥammad himself was not present) and one draw (albeit one with very positive reputational and strategic consequences) might have led other leaders to seek a compromise with his enemies. But to Muḥammad, compromising his plans for the future was unnecessary and undesirable.

Muḥammad's strategic vision — his rare gift of being able to see the potential growth of the initially unpopular religious that ideas he considered important as well as the social and political framework that he would need to create to sustain and protect those ideas — is a remarkable leadership quality. Able to bring the future close, he had a telescopic vision of Arabia and the world. He could see faraway things as though they were close, and he was able to make them sound so desirable and meaningful to others that they wanted to make the journey with him.

As it happened, the next step towards the taking of Mecca actually did involve a journey; not a military campaign, but a pilgrimage. In March 628, Muḥammad had a dream that he would lead a pilgrimage caravan to Mecca, about which he enthusiastically told his followers. Because he had dreamed it and was a prophet, no one doubted that it would happen. Many Muslims became enthusiastic (except for some of the Bedouins) and set off with him.[748] Yet the Quraysh in Mecca had other plans. Despite the 1,400 or more Muslims taking only enough sheathed blades to protect themselves

from bandits and no spears, shields or armor[749] — after all, Muḥammad took seriously the strict religious obligations associated with pilgrimage — the Meccans were highly nervous about the caravan's approach.[750] As noted above, they halted the caravan at al-Ḥudaybiyya, a short distance outside Mecca. Muḥammad and the Meccans eventually negotiated a settlement which his followers — who had believed his dream that they would enter Mecca and perform their rites, and were prepared to fight in order to do so — initially considered humiliating and offensive. It allowed Muḥammad, who saw in the treaty marvelous opportunities that his followers could not grasp, to return to Medina temporarily. They stayed in Medina only for enough time to prepare a campaign northward against the fortified Jewish oasis of Khaybar, north of Medina. Its defeat after a forceful siege — detailed in the next section — further strengthened his authority and latent power, and further diminished and isolated Mecca.

Mecca's religious and political independence ended in January 630, when Muḥammad took the city in a relatively bloodless military offensive. The causes are clear. The Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya included, amongst other things, a ten-year period of non-aggression between Muḥammad's polity and Mecca ("the people are to be in security and no one is to lay hands on another"), in which no raiding of each other or spoliation could occur, and each side was free to form alliances with whomever it wanted. This last clause was immensely beneficial. Muḥammad could immediately begin wooing tribes that were allied to Mecca without the Quraysh resorting to violence to stop them doing so. Of course, this went the other way, but as Muḥammad and his emerging polity was obviously in the ascendancy, while the Quraysh's wealth, power and influence were waning, it was going to be much easier now for Muḥammad to build new alliances than it would be for the Quraysh.

This very situation led to Mecca's misfortune (or fortune, if you were a Muslim). As a result of a blood feud that had already festered for decades and occasionally burst open, a strong force of the Banū al-Dīl of the Banū Bakr (whose advance "covered every plain and hill"), allies of the Quraysh, attacked a group of the Khuzā'a at night not far from Mecca.[751] The latter were now, twenty-two months after the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya, allied to Muḥammad (they still had in their possession what they claimed was an ancient contract with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's paternal grandfather,

which the Prophet agreed to honour).[752] Encouraged and possibly assisted by some of the Qurashī hardliners[753], the Bakr killed one Khuzā‘a man and forced the rest to flee into Mecca’s *ḥaram*, its sacred space, where they could not be killed. Yet the Bakr pursued them and outrageously laid siege to the house in which they hid.[754] In all, the Bakr slew twenty of the Khuzā‘a.[755] By any standards, and especially according to the customary law that all the tribes accepted, this was an egregious act that could not be ignored.

Muḥammad had offered protection as part of his alliances[756], and he felt honour-bound to protect and avenge the Khuzā‘a, who sent a delegation seeking his support. If he did not respond positively to them, he risked delegitimizing his alliances with other groups, who would no longer see him as a man of strength and honesty. These alliances were solemn affairs, as one can see from the role of the Banū Mudlij, who had made an agreement with Muḥammad over six years earlier in August 623, when Muḥammad had reached their territory on his very first raid. Now, when the Banū Bakr had approached the Quraysh and their allies seeking support against the Khuzā‘a, who were now allied to Muḥammad, the Banū Mudlij withdrew from the Bakr, promising to uphold their agreement with Muḥammad.[757]

Clearly not everyone was so honorable, and it was clear that the Bakr had received support from some of the Qurashī hardliners — now led by Ṣafwān ibn Umayya, ‘Ikrima ibn Abī Jahl, and the talented Suhayl ibn ‘Amr (who had skillfully negotiated the Ḥudaybiyya agreement on the Quraysh’s behalf, but had not forgotten the humiliation of being wounded and taken prisoner at Badr[758]). They detested Muḥammad and the growing authority and influence of his Medina-based polity and still believed that Muḥammad had to be dealt with by force, even if they were not in a position at that moment to do anything. Muḥammad knew that they felt this way, and was disgusted to hear that the Bakr had received support from members of the Quraysh and that the killing of the Khuzā‘a had violated the sanctity of Mecca’s *ḥaram*.

Yet he doubted that Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb had anything to do with it. He knew that Abū Sufyān, despite the earlier battles they had fought against each other, was basically decent and honorable. Even back in the Meccan period, Abū Sufyān had opposed his message and the reforms he wanted to

make, but had never spoken ill of him.[759] There are evidence-based Islamic traditions not found in the earliest extant biographical sources which maintain that, during the period between the Battle of the Trench and now, Muḥammad may have exchanged gifts with Abū Sufyān — who was pragmatic enough to accept that the future would involve some type of compromise or power-sharing — and welcomed him to Medina, with a guarantee of safe passage, after Abū Sufyān had requested to discuss either the alleviation of Mecca's food shortages or the possibility of a religious compromise.[760] Muḥammad had even recently married one of Abū Sufyān's daughters, perhaps at Abū Sufyān's request[761], clearly intending that this might eventually assist a *rapprochement*. He now anticipated that Abū Sufyān would come to him personally to affirm that he was uninvolved and that the Quraysh still wanted to honour the Ḥudaybiyya agreement.[762]

Abū Sufyān, seen by the hardliners as weak and therefore marginalized by them[763], had indeed been excluded from the Quraysh's discussions with the Banū Bakr. He was deeply upset when he learned of them, aware that Muḥammad would be obliged to honour his support to the Khuzā'a.[764] This would almost certainly mean that Muḥammad would seek to address the grievance, bringing war to the guilty clan of the Bakr and their supporters, meaning the miscreants within the Quraysh, in Mecca. Hoping to prevent this, Abū Sufyān immediately travelled north to Medina, as Muḥammad had anticipated, but upon arrival he first visited Muḥammad's close companions, Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī, imploring them one by one to intercede with Muḥammad to spare Mecca's people from violence. Each replied that their protection would be the protection of Muḥammad. In other words, they would only do whatever Muḥammad wanted. 'Alī offered the advice that, as a tribal leader, Abū Sufyān could formally offer his people protection (الجوار, *al-Jiwār*, a chief's extension of an umbrella of protection from violence or harm[765]) in his own name. When Abū Sufyān asked him whether that would be worth anything in Muḥammad's mind, 'Alī replied that perhaps it would not, but it was all he could think of.[766]

The fact that the earliest extant sources say that Abū Sufyān met each of the men who would later become Islam's first four post-Muḥammad political leaders — whom Muslims later came to call the Rightfully Guided Caliphs — in the exact order in which they later came to lead tells us a lot

about the sources themselves. Clearly this passage was later imbued with the purpose of legitimizing their rule.

According to al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām[767]), Abū Sufyān then met with Muḥammad, and nervously told him that he had offered his people protection and that he hoped Muḥammad would honour it. Muḥammad, who would as an Arab chief be hard pressed reputationally to violate the *Jiwār* that Abū Sufyān had announced, kept his thoughts to himself, merely replying: "*You* said that, Abū Sufyān," creating an ambiguity that would unnerve Abū Sufyān and leave him, Muḥammad, with greater freedom of movement. It was too early to be announcing decisions, much less to be negotiating conditions. Abū Sufyān returned to Mecca unsure of what would happen next, and his failure to win clear concessions from Muḥammad earned him insults from other Qurashī leaders[768] and even from his furious wife, Hind bint 'Utba.[769]

Without consulting his *Shūrā* — he must have understood that God was clear about this campaign —Muḥammad immediately began to assemble a force including his allies. He sent envoys to all the Bedouins and other tribal groups with whom he was now allied, instructing them that they were required to "assemble in Medina for Ramaḍān" (the holy month of fasting). Although he confided in Abū Bakr that he planned to march on Mecca[770], initially he withheld his intentions from everyone else. He even dispatched a small group in another direction, hoping that the Quraysh's spies would not recognize his true goal. He prayed, "O Allah, keep eyes [meaning spies and travellers] and news from the Quraysh so that we may take them by surprise in their land."[771]

Despite the apparent richness of al-Wāqidī's narrative of events, we know very little about Abū Sufyān's negotiations with Muḥammad, except, to quote Montgomery Watt, that "he possibly came to some understanding with Muḥammad,"[772] most likely meaning that he would help to surrender and religiously convert the city in return for good terms, the main one being retention of the Quraysh's authority (and that of the clans that he and Muḥammad were from). This was not actually in much doubt. Muḥammad was himself from the Quraysh and he knew what marvelous merchants, administrators, and pilgrimage organizers they were. If they would henceforth do these things as Muslims, it would clearly be the ideal outcome. Certainly, something to this effect must have been agreed,

because that was exactly how events transpired. Muḥammad honoured Abū Sufyān's promises of protection, allowed him to be the primary negotiator of the city's surrender, drew him close as an esteemed colleague immediately afterwards, and protected his family's high status. Indeed, Abū Sufyān would go on to become a very distinguished Muslim warrior and provincial governor, and his son Mu'āwiya and his descendants would before long establish and rule the Umayyad Empire.

Critics of Islam believe that Muḥammad, to quote Ayman Ibrahim, "created the issue of breaking the treaty, or at the very least, used the first opportunity to declare war."[773] They argue that, if Muḥammad was a man of peace, he would merely have agreed with Abū Sufyān to re-confirm and extend the terms of the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya. Perhaps with the paying of blood money, the whole issue could be smoothed over. This claim ignores the fact that Abū Sufyān, although still a leader of stature, was no longer the uncontested authority figure in Mecca. Opposition to him, mainly but not exclusively from within the Quraysh's Banū Makhzūm clan, had immediately begun to grow after he had chosen not to capitalize on his success at Uḥud.[774] The Battle of the Trench had been an abject failure, and he was essentially marginalized thereafter. He had not been involved in negotiating the Treaty of Ḥudaybiyya, which had been handled primarily by Suhayl ibn 'Amr, who was a member, with Ṣafwān ibn Umayya and 'Ikrima ibn Abī Jahl, of what might be called the new Meccan triumvirate. Muḥammad knew that, for all his qualities, Abū Sufyān was no longer able to control the Quraysh (a faction of which had acted outrageously behind his back) and that negotiating with him the renewal of the treaty would not be a sufficient guarantee of ongoing compliance. Muḥammad was also opportunistic in the best possible sense of the word. If he delayed or did nothing, he would lose the initiative. If he acted quickly, he could hold the initiative, thereby forcing the other side to react to his moves without being able to respond as they might want if they had more time.

As Muḥammad's forces began to move south, Abū Sufyān travelled back and forth between Mecca and Muḥammad's camp, finally accepting Islam in Muḥammad's red leather tent along with Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām and Budayl ibn Warqā'. According to the earliest sources, Abū Sufyān gained the support of Muḥammad's uncle al-'Abbas, who both facilitated Abū Sufyān's own conversion (through direct threats of death because Abū

Sufyān reportedly still held out[775]) and persuaded Muḥammad to be gentle with the Quraysh. It seems likely, however, when considering these reported events, that Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī and other historians writing in the early years of the rule of al-‘Abbas’s descendants, the ‘Abbāsid Empire, exaggerated al-‘Abbas’s role and downplayed the role (and exaggerated the vanity and stubbornness) of Abū Sufyān, whose descendants, the Umayyads, the ‘Abbāsids replaced after around a century and immediately began deliberately to delegitimize.[776]

In any event, the sources speak of Muḥammad assembling a coalition force symbolically rounded up to 10,000 warriors[777], which reportedly included 700 *Muhājirūn*, 4,000 *Anṣār*, 1,000 from the Muzayna, 800 from the Juhayna, and 500 from the Ka‘b ibn ‘Amr (a branch of the Khuzā‘a), with the Sulaym later meeting them on the road (at Qudayd, almost two-thirds of the way to Mecca), adding a further 900 to 1,000. ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn of the Fazāra branch of the Ghaṭafān, although almost certainly not yet a Muslim, caught up with Muḥammad at al-‘Arj, and, despite their tense history, Muḥammad let ‘Uyayna and a group of his followers join his campaign.[778]

Although some of the summoned tribal groups held back[779], the Sulaym’s support shows how far Muḥammad had come. Various clans and groups of Sulaym had long been a thorn in his side, and had even contributed to the horrific ambushing and slaughter of Muslim missionaries at Bi’r Ma‘ūna in July 625, which caused Muḥammad to hold his deepest grudge ever, “and for a month to curse them during his pre-dawn prayers”.[780] They had then sided with the Quraysh during the Battle of the Trench in April 627, sending the very same warriors against Muḥammad in Medina that now turned up to support him on his way to Mecca.[781] They had watched the power dynamics in the Ḥijāz shift considerably, and by the time of Muḥammad’s march on Mecca, a large portion of the Sulaym had already seen the value of switching political allegiances, even if not all of them were yet religious converts.[782] Muḥammad was apparently surprised that they had come, at least to see so many of them. They demanded to ride with him, and wanted to be his vanguard, arguing that they were his relatives.[783] He accepted them despite many not being Muslims and, indeed, sent them forward as the vanguard.[784] “Go forth,” he said happily, glad of his first meaningful cooperation with the Sulaym.[785]

It is the same with ‘Uyayna and his Fazāra warriors. ‘Uyayna had commanded a powerful contingent against the Muslims at the Battle of the Trench, but had withdrawn with his force when it became clear that Muḥammad had outsmarted him and exposed his disloyalty to the Quraysh. In 626, he concluded with Muḥammad a non-belligerency pact of three months which guaranteed the safety of his herds when severe drought pushed them to grazing lands in Muḥammad’s sphere of control. The Prophet distrusted ‘Uyayna’s oath; and his distrust was well founded.[786] Soon thereafter, ‘Uyayna ordered an attack on Muḥammad’s milch camels which were pasturing near Medina, perhaps to show him how annoyed but undaunted he was about the outcome of the Battle of the Trench.[787] He then came to the aid of the Jews of Khaybar in May 628, again for a promise of dates, but was outsmarted there also by Muḥammad, who compelled him to desert his Jewish allies after leading him to believe that his town, Ḥayfā, was under attack.[788] When ‘Uyayna returned to Khaybar after Muḥammad’s siege and asked for a gift from the booty, Muḥammad applied salve to his ego by giving him Dhū Ruqayba, a mountain at Khaybar.[789] The fact that ‘Uyayna now turned up uninvited, and was accepted, despite not yet swearing allegiance to Muḥammad and becoming a Muslim[790], shows that the allure of booty still captured the Bedouins’ minds. Far more importantly, it reveals how far the power dynamics in the Ḥijāz had shifted in Muḥammad’s favor.

As an interesting aside, ‘Uyayna recognized that he was easily outsmarted and repeatedly did unwise things. He had to repent to Muḥammad more than once for acts of foolishness.[791] Admitting his lack of brainpower, but inadvertently showing his true colors at the same time, he publicly stated, after Muḥammad lifted his unsuccessful siege of the Thaqīf in Ṭā’if, that the Thaqīf had resisted nobly and that the only reason why he had joined the campaign against them was because he “had heard that their women produced intelligent sons,” something he dearly wanted.[792] When Muḥammad heard this, he smiled and told an annoyed ‘Umar not to worry: ‘Uyayna had an “obedient type of foolishness” (“هذا الحُمْق المُطاع”); that is, he was foolish but useful.[793]

By rounding up the total to 10,000, the early writers’ obvious point is that Muḥammad was able, by this stage, to assemble a huge coalition as least as

large as the Meccan-led coalition force that had marched to Medina almost three years earlier, only then to be thwarted by Muḥammad's trench. Muḥammad now even had a huge cavalry component, with mounted warriors numbering almost 2,000 (900 in armor from the Sulaym alone[794]) out of the 10,000. And it even seems that *all* of the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* wore armor. Ibn Hishām notes that the only human parts that could be seen of them "were their eyes, because of their armor."[795] It was a remarkable *volte-face*. It was a very well-equipped force, compelling Abū Sufyān, who saw it march past him while he watched from the confines of a rocky valley, later to tell his wife, "This is Muḥammad with ten thousand, wearing iron."[796] The earliest sources deliberately put into Abū Sufyān's mouth — even though he had himself assembled a force symbolically rounded out to 10,000 for what became the Battle of the Trench — the statement that he had never seen such a mighty force, against which no one could prevail.

Ten thousand men on the march consume vast amounts of food, yet we still have no record of any centralized provision of food. Almost a year earlier, in March 629, when Muḥammad had led 2,000 pilgrims to Mecca for the 'Umrah, he had tried to create a central journey fund out of voluntary donations, but with no success. People complained, exaggerated their poverty, and would not contribute.[797] Al-Wāqidī called this the "abandonment of spending in Allah's path" ("ترك النفقة في سبيل الله") and noted that it prompted Qur'ānic chastisement (*Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:195): وَأَنفِقُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ وَلاَ تُلْقُواْ بِأَيْدِيكُمْ إِلَى التَّهْلُكَةِ وَأَحْسِنُوَاْ إِنَّ اللّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُحْسِنِينَ

> 195. And spend in the way of Allah and do not throw yourself with your own hands into destruction. Do good, for Allah loves those who do good.

Now, even though the march south would take eleven or twelve days, things were no more centralized or organized. The men only ate what they had themselves packed and carried. This imperfect system would soon improve slightly, after the conquest of Mecca, when Qurashī expertise strengthened the Islamic community's logistical capabilities, as Muḥammad knew it would. And once his successors' armies spread out of Arabia, they finally instituted what modern observers would recognize as a centralized and

institutionalized system.

Muḥammad's warriors also remained in their tribal groups, unmixed, under their own leaders. Tribal affiliation was now subordinate to political allegiance and (for many of the warriors) religious confession, but tribal identity remained immensely important to everyone, regardless of who was a believer or not. Consequently, this was not yet a unified "Islamic army" or "Arab army," but merely what today we would call a coalition of the willing. It does seem, however, that Muḥammad gave Khālid ibn al-Walīd command of all the cavalry, including warriors from the Aslam, Sulaym, Ghifār, Muzayna, Juhayna and other tribes.[798] That does not mean that they were in any way mixed. He led groups who rode in distinct and proudly demarcated tribal units, each of which had its own banner or flag (mainly different colored material without wording or images). The potential for inter-tribal conflict to rear its head was ever-present, and at one point on the way to Mecca, Muḥammad had to intervene between two tribes under his command whose boasting of martial superiority (for example, "you know that *we* are the best cavalry warriors; our spears pierce better than yours and we strike with our swords better than you and your people") had the potential to become ugly.[799] Muḥammad would accept none of this.

Muḥammad was at great pains to prevent the Quraysh knowing for sure that he was heading to Mecca, although of course Arabia's vast spy network, to which all peoples contributed, was so widespread that his southward journey was known everywhere before he had travelled far. The countryside was awash with stories that Muḥammad was on the march. Before Muḥammad told Abū Bakr that Mecca was the destination, his wife ʻĀ'isha had told him (her father) that the Sulaym might even be the intended target, or perhaps the Hawāzin near Mecca or the Thaqīf of Ṭā'if.[800]

This uncertainty was precisely what Muḥammad wanted. Directing his huge force south did not necessarily mean that it was going to Mecca. Near Mecca were two other stubborn non-Muslim tribes, the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf, who were not natural allies of the Quraysh, although they all traded regularly. It was best, Muḥammad reasoned, if no-one felt certain which of the three peoples was the intended target.[801] Even though Abū Sufyān had come to an agreement with him (meaning that he could count on the passivity and surrender of the people under Abū Sufyān's authority),

Muḥammad knew that a powerful party within the Quraysh still opposed him, and he did not want them mounting a stout defence or calling allies to fight with them. He certainly did not want them having time to do what they had done when he had led pilgrims to Ḥudaybiyya twenty-two months earlier: they had summoned their *Aḥābīsh* allies, armed for war, collected money, and established four provisioning stations in Mecca.[802]

Unnerving the Quraysh through uncertainty and intimidation was obviously beneficial, but the intended ambiguity of Muḥammad's final destination as his vast force wound its way south for a week and a half also had an unintended negative consequence. The Hawāzin tribe around Mecca and the Thaqīf in Ṭā'if both came "to believe that he intended [to attack] them."[803] For this reason alone, they mobilized for war and resolved to fight. Muḥammad learned this from a captured spy[804], and thus knew that, even if his force proved successful at Mecca (which was extremely likely because the Quraysh had no time to prepare an adequate defence of their unfortified city), his force would not be secure. Two powerful tribes were now preparing to fight him. This was not an ideal situation.

Montgomery Watt postulates a slightly different explanation for the Hawāzin's mobilization: that it might have anticipated a bloody and indecisive battle between Muḥammad's force and the Quraysh, and hoped to fight and defeat one or both of the exhausted sides.[805] This would only make sense if the Hawāzin had seen evidence that the Quraysh in Mecca were preparing to mount a major military defensive operation to shield their city. Yet there was no evidence that any serious organization of the city's defence was underway. Mecca had no standing army, and its male inhabitants and its regular cluster of supportive tribes, even if they came to the city's assistance at very short notice, would be no match for Muḥammad's immense force. Thus, a battle of mutual exhausting attrition was never a likely scenario.

Watt also speculates that Muḥammad may have actually wanted these other tribes to mobilize — especially the Hawāzin – because that would involve the Hawāzin, a widely dispersed seminomadic people spread over a vast area, having to concentrate. The concentration of the Hawāzin would present him with a "rich target," an opportunity of providing booty to his army that he would not be able to give his men in Mecca.[806] This suggested strategy would require ingenious foresight on Muḥammad's part, of which

he was definitely capable, but it is speculative and not found in the sources, and it implies that Muḥammad already knew for certain that he would not be fighting a booty-producing battle for Mecca (which was not yet assured). It would also show him to be reckless, so convinced of his vast force's strength that he was prepared to throw it into a second battle, this time against the very powerful Hawāzin, who could probably marshal a force as large as his, and even bigger if it combined in any way with the Thaqīf (which was a probability, given that they both had better relations with each other than either had with Mecca).

A more reasonable reading of the evidence is that Muḥammad was concerned to learn of the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf readying themselves for war, but he kept his eyes firmly on the sole campaign goal of taking Mecca. He would worry about the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf later, when he had acquired enough strength to do so.

That does not mean he was unaware that this time, by taking Mecca, he would not be able to deliver any material reward to his booty-loving people, and that a later successful attack on the Hawāzin would probably be necessary in order to deliver booty to them, thereby making the Mecca campaign also seem worthwhile. When Abū Sufyān told Muḥammad that he should be devoting his "sharpness and cunning against the Hawāzin," rather than against his own kin, Muḥammad revealed his strategy. He replied to Abū Sufyān that he hoped that, "through the opening of Mecca" ("بفتح مكة"), Islam would be strengthened, so that they could later, as a greater force, go after the powerful Hawāzin. "I wish that Allah would grant me booty from their wealth and their children," Muḥammad added. "Indeed, I implore Allah the Almighty for that!" ("فإني راغبٌ إلى الله تعالى في ذلك!").[807]

That would of course have to be done in stages. First, he needed to strengthen his political authority and military strength by incorporating the Quraysh. He therefore pushed his force very hard to reach Mecca as quickly as possible so as to minimize its possibility of preparing an adequate defence.[808] He had his warriors light an unnecessarily large number of campfires each night, thus giving the appearance that his force was larger than in realty it was.

The fear of a stalwart Meccan resistance weakened with every southward

mile that Muḥammad's mighty force took. No reports of defensive mobilizations or forces concentrating for combat reached him, and by the time he reached Marr al-Ẓahrān, only sixteen kilometers (ten miles) northwest of Mecca, he knew he would be entering with mild or no resistance. He therefore began to prepare his own forces for their entry. He created four independent groups, each of which would enter Mecca through one of the city "gates" (meaning the main exit and entry gaps between the rocky outcrops to Mecca's west). Mountains flanked the city on its eastern side. Al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwām would enter through Kudā; Khālid ibn al-Walīd (leading the Sulaym and other horsemen) through al-Līṭ; and Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda through al-Kadā. In the infantry column led by Abū 'Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Muḥammad (in overall command and demanding total obedience) would enter through Adhākhir.[809] He used a *wazi'* (وازع), a designated runner, to carry his instructions to the various units which were all crammed together outside Mecca.[810] Hamidullah attributes a grand role to this man, that of meticulously organizing the huge congested force into careful ranks and files, but this never occurred. He was merely Muḥammad's messenger, and the advance into the city of what an observer on a hilltop called the "black mass," via four routes, involved no ranks and files.[811] In any event, Muḥammad liked to arrange any ranks and files himself.[812]

Now aware that Mecca had not organized a military defense, a relieved Muḥammad gave his commanders emphatic instructions: Mecca was a holy city with a *ḥaram* at its center. There must be absolutely no killing of any citizens whatsoever unless any were armed and resisting. Everyone who came under Abū Sufyān's protection and remained in their homes must be left entirely alone. "Today," he told them, revealing his intentions for the city, "Allah will make the Quraysh mighty." Al-Balādhurī said that this caused annoyance among some of the *Anṣār*, who alleged that Muḥammad still favored his own tribe and clan.[813]

Even the leaders he chose did not receive the message with equal clarity. When Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda got caught up in a strange fervor and began calling out aggressive and threatening statements that the Quraysh would be humiliated in a fierce battle, Muḥammad promptly replaced Sa'd with Sa'd's son Qays (Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī say his replacement was

‘Alī[814]). That day was to be a day of mercy. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Rāshid report that Muḥammad nonetheless allowed the Khuzā‘a to avenge themselves against the Bakr for a short time, a single hour, getting their revenge for the grievance that started this campaign, until Muḥammad told them it was enough.[815] Although this may seem inconsistent with the bloodless and conciliatory type of victory that Muḥammad wanted, he saw it as necessary to prevent a further blood feud.

Almost all Meccans remained indoors when Muḥammad’s four groups entered the city on or about 11 January 630, and thus they came under Abū Sufyān’s widely proclaimed protection, which the Muslims upheld. A small number fled to other cities. Some would return in coming months — having been promised protection by their families, which Muḥammad honoured — in order to accept the amnesty that he extended.

Not all the Quraysh understood or wanted Muḥammad’s conciliation. When Khālid ibn al-Walīd led his group in through the south of the city, at al-Lit, he encountered the opposition ringleaders — Ṣafwān ibn Umayya, ‘Ikrima ibn Abī Jahl, and Suhayl ibn ‘Amr — with some Quraysh warriors and tribesmen from the *Aḥābīsh*, warriors allied to Mecca who served as contracted fighters. These miscreants fired arrows and drew their swords, shouting that Mecca would never be taken by force.[816] Khālid ordered his warriors to attack. On the lower slopes of Mount Khandama, Khālid’s men slew either 24 or 28 opponents, most of them from the Quraysh, with three losses of their own (two of whom had become separated from the group while entering the city and were ambushed[817]).[818] The three ringleaders escaped, for now. When Muḥammad learned of this combat, he was very disappointed, having dearly wanted a bloodless takeover. But when he learned that Khālid’s men had been attacked, he accepted their response as reasonable self-defense.[819] Strangely, in a continuity with the habits of the period before Islam, Ibn Hishām quotes a poet who recorded the violence of this minor battle in glowing terms, describing how the “Muslims met them with their swords / which cut through arms and skulls / with confused cries ringing out / from behind with shrieks and groaning.”[820]

This was the extent of combat. It was as bloodless an affair as one could imagine, and overall, Muḥammad had every reason to be happy. Eight years after he had left Mecca in humiliation — ridiculed as a poet, a soothsayer and a trouble-maker — the outcast had returned to the city as its master.

Wanting healing and conciliation, not revenge, he told the Meccans who now assembled in the sacred space around the Ka‘ba, which he cleared of idols, that they were forgiven in the same way that the biblical Prophet Joseph had forgiven his treacherous brothers.[821] He explained that the Ka‘ba and the *ḥaram* would henceforth be devoted to Allah alone, but that life would otherwise go on essentially as it was. He then took the collective *bay‘a* of the Meccans, asking them to listen to and obey him to the best of their abilities.[822] They willingly complied, and thus entered his *umma* — his community — with most but not yet all of them also becoming Muslims (which was not imposed). It was a happy moment.

The general amnesty he announced does not mean that he forgave everyone who had previously wronged him. He had a list of six men and four women who were under a death sentence for egregious past offenses.[823] Most of them immediately accepted Islam, pledged their loyalty to Muḥammad, and thus saved themselves.[824] The others were executed.

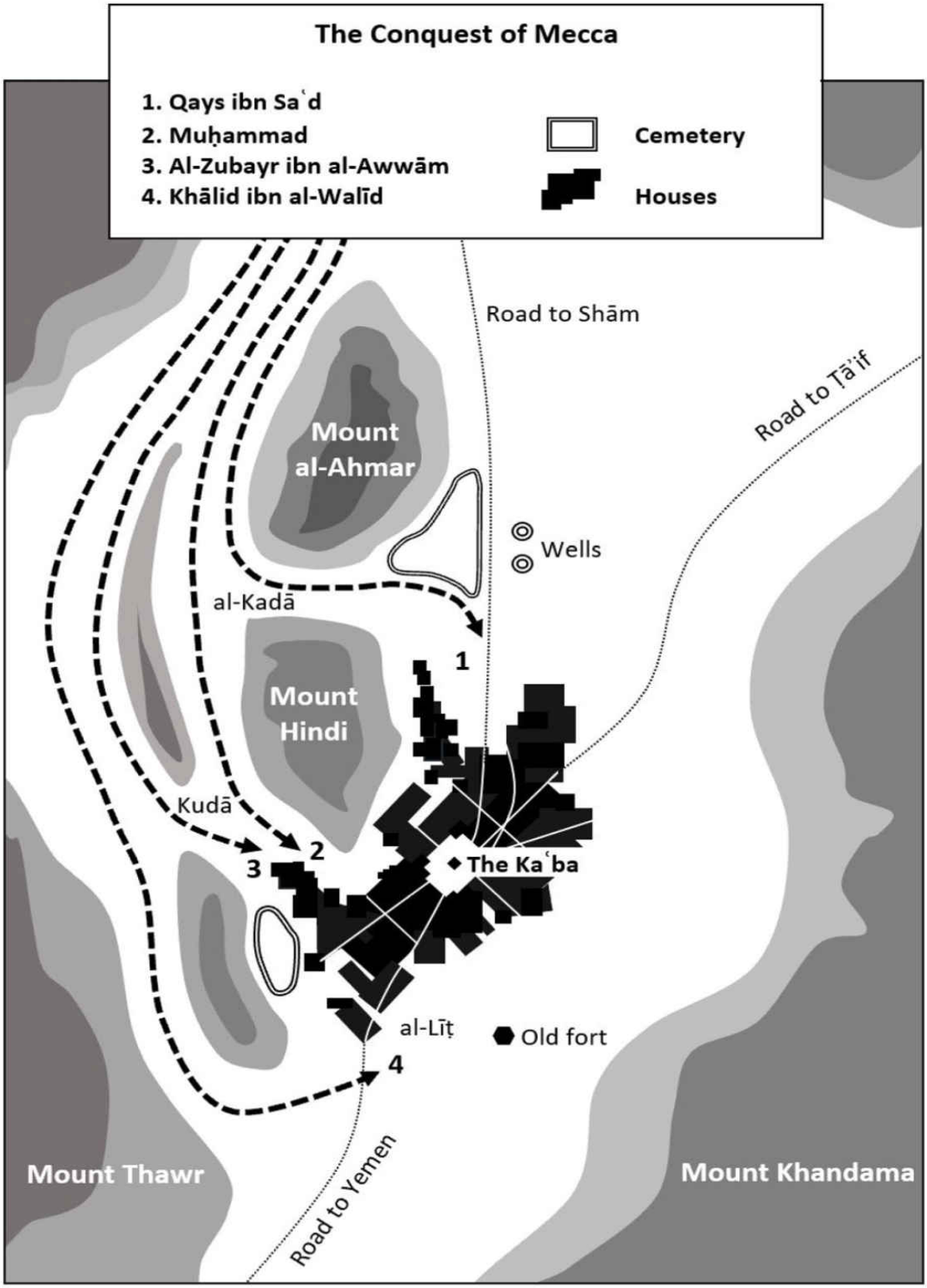

Figure 10. The Conquest of Mecca

Muḥammad's most bitter foes in Mecca — Ṣafwān ibn Umayya, 'Ikrima ibn Abī Jahl, and Suhayl ibn 'Amr — were soon all reconciled to him. Ṣafwān had fled, but was enticed back to Mecca from Jedda (which al-Wāqidī calls al-Shu'ayba[825]) with assurances that he would be safe. When he asked Muḥammad to give him two months to reflect on whether he should become a Muslim, Muḥammad granted him four. He soon thereafter loaned Muḥammad one hundred chain mail shirts (the *aḥādīth* say forty[826]) for the Ḥunayn campaign and 50,000 dirhams to provide for his poorest warriors. He invited Ṣafwān, although still a polytheist, to fight with him. Muḥammad was keen to win over Ṣafwān, and would soon give him an unexpectedly large share of the Ḥunayn booty. Ṣafwān then became a Muslim.[827] 'Ikrima, the son of Abū Jahl, Muḥammad's most aggressive opponent during his pre-*Hijra* years in Mecca, was also welcomed back from a temporary flight by Muḥammad, who told him that he would grant 'Ikrima anything he wanted. Surprised, 'Ikrima asked to be forgiven for his years of opposition.[828] An overjoyed Muḥammad forgave him and made it clear that, for 'Ikrima's sake, he would not tolerate anyone criticizing the memory of Abū Jahl. Suhayl was likewise forgiven, and given a larger than expected amount of booty after Ḥunayn, the purpose, like that of Ṣafwān, being to "reconcile their hearts".[829]

The spirit of conciliation underpinning the amnesty does not mean that everyone continued to behave as the Prophet wished. The transformation of the heart is a slow process, even for those genuinely touched by religion. Thefts occurred (prompting Abū Bakr to say in front of the gathered Muslims that "there is not much honesty among people nowadays"[830]) and tribal enmities continued to cause problems. On the very next day, some of the Khuzā'a spotted one of their enemies in Mecca and stabbed him to death, prompting a furious Muḥammad to rebuke them, put his foot down about the city's sanctity, and offer to pay the dead man's blood money himself.[831]

Considering everyone's obsession with booty, it is noteworthy that the sources do not reveal mass distress that Muḥammad allowed no-one to claim booty. After all, many of the warriors on this campaign were either brand new Muslims or not yet Muslims (including some of the Sulaym and Khuzā'a and even the mighty 'Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn and his Fazāra group of the Ghaṭafān[832]), and most of the established Muslims were still consumed by

the hope of gaining glory in combat and plenty of booty. He handled this issue with significant intelligence. The Meccans had capitulated to him through negotiation, he publicly announced, which meant that only he, Muḥammad, was entitled to booty. A limited exception were the warriors with Khālid ibn al-Walīd, who had fought defensively between al-Līṭ and Mount Khandama. They could have the *salab*, the weapons and armor of the slain, with the Prophet getting a fifth. Yet because no-one else had fought, no-one else was entitled to a thing. Negotiation had delivered Mecca's entire population into his own hands, and he had then chosen, as his sole right, to free them all. The Meccans, he said, were now "the freed captives" (الطلقاء, *al-Ṭulaqā*, commonly rendered as "the freed ones") and no-one else had any right to them or any of their possessions.[833] And after accepting their *bay'a*, he was now their protector.

Without the seizure of booty, however, his large army needed to be fed after having consumed all of the food that they had brought on their southward journey to Mecca. They were in urgent need of provisions, with the poorer warriors having no money to buy any food whatsoever from the Meccans. Muḥammad therefore took out loans totaling 130,000 dirhams from willing rich Meccans (including his former foe Ṣafwān ibn Umayya), who were doubtless relieved that their wealth had not be confiscated, so that he could give to the men in need around fifty dirhams each.[834]

His warriors would not have long to wait until a fabulous amount of booty came to them. Muḥammad spent around two weeks putting in place a range of administrative reforms, and sent out several missions to destroy pagan or polytheistic shrines in the region thereabouts and three raids to secure the submission of tribes who had not yet accepted his authority. At the end of January 630, he then led an even larger force out of Mecca — this time to face the Hawāzin — than the one he had just led in.

The March to Ṭā'if As noted, an unintended consequence of Muḥammad keeping his destination secret when he marched southward was that the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf tribes both thought that they were the intended target, and they immediately began frantically preparing for war. Learning that Muḥammad had conquered Mecca did not reduce their fear of

invasion.[835] **Indeed, after they learned that Mecca had accepted Islam and been incorporated into Muḥammad's ever-strengthening polity, they would have felt acutely anxious that a combined Medinese and Meccan force would be massively hard to withstand, let alone to defeat, if they allowed it to dictate what would happen next. When Khālid ibn al-Walīd destroyed the shine of the goddess al-'Uzzā, situated in Nakhla near to Ṭā'if, their fear of attack increased and they realized they would need to move quickly. Wanting to seize the initiative, they marched out towards Mecca before Muḥammad could march on them.**[836]

The desire of the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf to act pre-emptively caused an unusual situation. Believing the threat was so great that they must act, they understood that their best likelihood of success was to attack Muḥammad's force before it attacked them. They therefore mobilized and began to advance. Muḥammad's spy network detected their concentration and advance and reported it to Muḥammad, who felt his best likelihood of success was to attack their forces before they attacked his own. Without consulting with his *Shūrā* (but apparently after a private chat with 'Umar[837]), he therefore ordered a pre-emptive campaign against their own pre-emptive campaign.

The earliest extant Islamic sources assert that the Hawāzin force included no fewer than twenty thousand warriors, which is undoubtedly a great exaggeration, perhaps intended to maintain the pattern of Muslims always being the numerical underdogs. Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī are clear that, while the men of Banū Nasr, Jusham, and Sa'd ibn Bakr went out to fight — along with the Thaqīf of Ṭā'if — other Hawāzin clans did not take part, notably the Ka'b and Kilāb, "and no one of any importance took part in the battle."[838]

We should not, on the other hand, consider it improbable that the Hawāzin were able to assemble an enormous force as big as the 12,000 Muslims and allies that Muḥammad was now reportedly able to assemble (including 2,000 of *al-Ṭulaqā*, the Meccan "freed ones").[839]

The Hawāzin chief who accepted overall command was the thirty-year-

old Mālik ibn ‘Awf ibn Sa‘d ibn Rabī‘a al-Nasrī, who belonged to the Banū Nasr ibn Mu‘āwiya clan of the powerful Kays tribe of the Hawāzin. He was widely seen as a courageous warrior, having still been an *Amrad* (أمرط, a beardless youth), when he had commanded a detachment of the Hawāzin in the Ḥurūb al-Fijār.[840] Al-Wāqidī revealingly notes that Mālik now “used his money generously, which they liked, and all of the Hawāzin [therefore] gathered.”[841] The promise of payment was a powerful incentive.

The Thaqīf and Hawāzin clans which marched out toward Mecca via the canyon passes known as Ḥunayn had their own leaders, and fought beneath them in discrete units with their own distinct flags, but they agreed to fight under Mālik ibn ‘Awf’s overall authority. His clan had long been in the pay of the Thaqīf to protect Ṭā’if and its horticultural fields from raiders. It thus performed for the Thaqīf the type of protective role that the *Aḥābīsh* provided for the Quraysh. This explains why a major settlement would now put its warriors under the leadership of a seminomadic tribesman.[842]

Mālik came up with what he considered the optimal way to ensure that his warriors would fight resolutely and not desert the battlefield. He ordered the men to bring their wives, children and herds of camels, sheep, and goats along with them, believing that no real man would desert them, but would fight to the death to protect them.[843] This earned him the scorn of Durayd ibn al-Ṣimma, an elderly warrior and chief of the Banū Jusham (preposterously claimed by al-Wāqidī to be 160 years old[844]) who had vast experience of combat. “O, you sheep-herder,” Durayd said rebukingly to Mālik. “Do you believe that anything will turn back a man who runs away?” If they proved victorious, he added, it would be only because of their spears and swords; if they failed, it would result in the dishonor of losing family and property. When he learned that key Hawāzin clans, notably the Ka‘b and the Kilāb, had chosen to remain out of this battle, Durayd told Mālik that he wished everyone else had followed suit. Realizing that Mālik had already committed himself to fighting, he urged him to choose a different strategy, fighting from unassailable hilltops and sending out cavalry in surprise attacks. This was too much for Mālik, who drew his sword and threatened to kill himself if the warriors would not follow his commands. They agreed to comply, and everything duly went disastrously.

Muḥammad’s force included many brand-new Muslims and many non-Muslims. This obviously made some Muslims nervous that they might be back-stabbed by the non-Muslims among them. Both the *Sīrah* and the *aḥādīth* testify, albeit obliquely, to this concern. For example, they record the fear of a woman, a long-time Muslim known by her *kunya* as Umm Sulaym, who carried a dagger with her so that she might stab in the belly any of the non-Muslims who proved treacherous. She was also suspicious of all the new Muslims who had only converted because they had been conquered. When her husband Abū Talḥa al-Anṣārī reported this to Muḥammad, he laughed, told Umm Sulaym to put away her dagger, and to trust Allah for their safety.[845] Al-Wāqidī reveals, in fact, that some of the recently converted Meccans were still uncommitted and merely watching to see which side would win; not unsurprisingly, what mattered most to them was who would secure the booty.[846] Even if their religious conversion was not yet authentic, it did make sense that, all in all, they would prefer Muḥammad to win. As Ṣafwān ibn Umayya said when he later heard the incorrect news that Muḥammad had been defeated: “Actually, a lord from the Quraysh is more appealing to me than a lord from the Hawāzin, if I must have a lord.”[847]

Astutely, Muḥammad left Mecca in the hands of ‘Attāb ibn Asīd ibn Abū’l-‘Is ibn Umayya ibn ‘Abd Shams, a nineteen-year-old brand-new convert from the Banū Umayya clan of the Quraysh (notably a member of Abū Sufyān’s clan). He did so in order to take Abū Sufyān and the other recently-converted leaders (including Abū Sufyān, ‘Ikrima and Suhail) and the not-yet-converted leaders (including Ṣafwān) out on the pre-emptive campaign. He clearly did so to keep them close, to bond with them, to demonstrate through trust that their reconciliation was genuine, and to give them esteem in the eyes of their peoples. If he had excluded or belittled them, how could he win their peoples?

All clans and other tribal groups that marched out towards the location where spies said the enemy were had their own flags and battle cries, proud of their familial identities, and followed their own leaders, with Muḥammad in uncontested authority of all higher leadership, strategic and tactical decisions, not to mention being the sole decider of who would receive booty, if they would take any. Many writers believe that Abū Sufyān received command of the Meccan Quraysh forces, yet he actually rode far

from the front, thus presumably not in command of a contingent.[848] He had two of his sons with him, Mu‘āwiya and Yazīd, who would later go on to serve, respectively, as Leader of the Believers (later called Caliph) in Damascus, and a provincial governor in Jordan.

The advance from Mecca to Ḥunayn involved an occurrence that has had a profound effect on the Islamic ethics and laws of war, creating a strict prohibition on the killing of women (and then by extension children and the elderly) during war. Muḥammad had often told his raid leaders not to kill women and the other innocents. It will be remembered that, when he sent Abū Qatāda to attack the Ghaṭafān, he had instructed him, “March by night and hide by day. [That is, make a surprise attack]. … but do not kill women and children.” Likewise, shortly before the Mu’ta campaign started, Muḥammad had issued fighting instructions to his warriors that included clear direction not to kill women, children, people who did not oppose them but asked for protection, monks, and the elderly.[849] Yet, in terms of *Fiqh*, classical Islamic scholars tend to trace the origin of this prohibition against killing women to a particular incident recorded in the *Sīrah* and especially in the *aḥādīth*. During the march to Ḥunayn, Muḥammad encountered on the road the body of a slain woman, apparently killed by Khālid ibn al-Walīd (or a member of his vanguard). Upset, Muḥammad issued a ruling that neither women and children nor the elderly were to be killed.[850] Closely similar variations of this story are found in all six of the major Sunni *ḥadīth* collections.[851] Abū Dāwūd’s collection also contains a variation in which a cluster of people gathered around the body of the slain woman. The Prophet sent a man to ask what they were looking at. When he returned and reported the woman’s slaying, Muḥammad exclaimed that she should not have been fought. Khālid was in charge of the responsible unit, so he sent a messenger to advise Khālid “never to kill a woman or a hired servant”.[852] The version found in *Sunan ibn Mājah* is almost identical, except that Muḥammad, after learning of the woman’s death, ordered Khālid not to kill “offspring or any hired servant”.[853] In the textual commentary it explains that the word “ذُرِّيَّةً” — “offspring” — meant women.[854]

A verse in the Qur’ān explicitly describes what happened next on the approach to Ḥunayn, revealing that Muḥammad’s warriors were so confident of an easy victory, based on their sheer numbers, that they let

their guards down. *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9: 25-26 says: لَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ اللّهُ فِي مَوَاطِنَ كَثِيرَةٍ وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْئاً وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ الأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ ثُمَّ وَلَّيْتُم مُّدْبِرِينَ
ثُمَّ أَنزلَ اللّهُ سَكِينَتَهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ وَعَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَنزَلَ جُنُوداً لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا وَعذَّبَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ وَذَلِكَ جَزَاء الْكَافِرِينَ

> 25. Truly Allah has helped you in many regions, and on the Day of Ḥunayn, when your own multitude made you satisfied, but it availed you nothing, and the earth, for all its vastness, hemmed you in, and you turned back, fleeing.
> 26. Then Allah sent down His peace of mind upon His Messenger and the believers, and sent down forces that you could not see, and he punished the disbelievers. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers.

The description of the earth hemming in Muḥammad's fighting force is both vivid and, according to the earliest narrative sources, accurate. As the column wound its way towards where it presumed it would find the enemy lining up in an open space for a pitched battle, it had to pass through a series of steep canyons. We are not told how many ranks abreast the riders were, only that the vanguard once again comprised the armored Sulaym, led by Khālid ibn al-Walīd.[855] Apparently complacent because of its strength[856] — with some of Muḥammad's companions boasting that they would be strong enough to beat even the Banū Shaybān[857], the most feared Arab warrior tribe — the force obviously had not sent out enough scouts, or interrogated any local shepherds, if there were any, to find out where the enemy was and in what strength. In a location apparently forgotten, but somewhere around thirty kilometers sightly northwest of Mecca, Mālik ibn 'Awf and his warriors lay in wait upon rocky ridges, ready for Muḥammad's warriors to enter the trap he believed he would soon spring.

The present writer has walked all of Muḥammad's battlefields, and confirms that the physical descriptions in the earliest sources conform to the geographical features of the sites. Yet his efforts to locate the site of Muḥammad's largest battle have been fruitless, as even the locals are unaware of Ḥunayn's location and cannot narrow it down within an area of around 100 square kilometers. Perhaps because the battle turned out very well for Muḥammad, who lost no more than four men (one of whom died

being thrown off his horse)[858], with the enemy losing between 70 and 100[859], there is not an Islamic cemetery to serve as a reference point, as there is at Badr, Uḥud, and other sites. Moreover, the earliest Arabic sources were not trying to record for posterity the kind of details that modern historians like to use to explain military outcomes: the dimensions of a battlefield, descriptions of the geography, accurate numbers of participants, particulars of their placement, their level of experience, the state of their morale, and so forth. They do not even record the tactical plans of both sides. The early writers were instead trying to establish for future generations a salvation story: proof that the Prophet succeeded because he had God's favour and complied with God's wishes. As a consequence, all we know is that Wādī Ḥunayn is somewhere in the Ḥijāz mountains, a section of the Sarawāt mountains, northwest of Ṭā'if, near to Mount Awṭās, the location of which has also been lost over time.

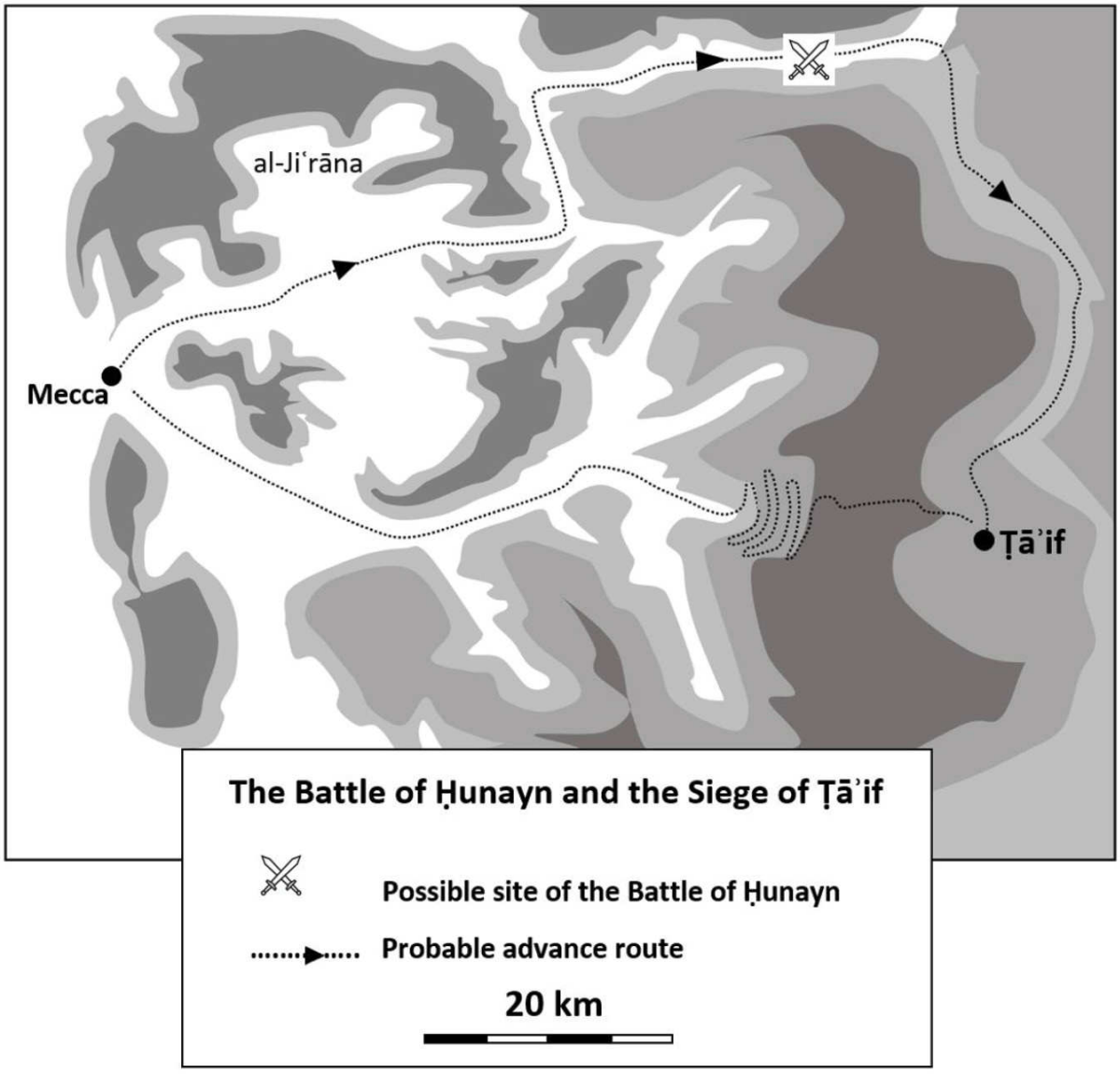

Figure 11. The Battle of Ḥunayn and the Siege of Ṭā'if

Muhammad Hamidullah, author of the now-outdated but still useful and fascinating book, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, was equally unsure of the location when he searched for it in the 1930s, admitting that he "could not find a place where an army of 12,000 strong, as the Prophet Muhammad was then leading, could be ambushed by archers."[860] He misses the point. An ambush does not have to take the entire force by surprise, but only a key section, so as to isolate and destroy that section and send the rest into panic.

Wanting to minimize the enemy's awareness of his force's strength and

movement, Muḥammad apparently had its final approach occur at night (it was certainly descending through the valley before dawn[861]), as he had become accustomed to doing during the very many raids that he undertook or initiated.[862] There are three problems with this. First, the movement of an immensely long column of 12,000 warriors on horseback, camelback and foot, stretching back five or more kilometers like a long snake, could not possibly be rendered invisible merely by advancing to battle at night. Second, darkness obscured the enemy's own activities, especially if the enemy was now not moving, but was waiting hidden in position. Third, darkness would greatly magnify the startling and paralyzing effect of any enemy surprise attack, with the receiving force being unable to gauge the enemy's strength, positions, and so forth.

That is precisely what transpired. Once the vanguard troops came unknowingly beneath the enemy warriors on the rocky ridges in the darkness right before dawn — when they were tired and not anticipating any battle before they had reached Awṭās — an unrecorded number of the enemy began to pelt an unrecorded number of Muḥammad's men with arrows and rocks. Then the sudden appearance of the Hawāzin and Thaqīf spearmen on each side of them as well as in front, at the head of the valley, in the direction of Awṭās, seemed even worse because Muḥammad's disorientated men could not tell that the unimaginably large force ahead of them included the Hawāzin's womenfolk behind the men.[863] With resounding thunder and falling rain possibly adding to the pandemonium[864], it just seemed like an overwhelming mass of shouting, throwing, thrusting and stabbing enemies. The vanguard force and the Meccans behind them panicked and began to flee back down the valley, leaving Muḥammad, seated on his mule, essentially alone with his bodyguard, to save the day.

Here we clearly see Muḥammad's courage and strength. He did not lose his head, even when his vanguard fled past him, pushing him to the side of the valley. Standing high in the stirrups of his mule, Duldul, in the midst of the *mêlée*[865], and then dismounting to stand firm, closely surrounded by around one hundred warriors fighting bravely against far greater numbers, the armor-clad prophet waved his sword above him and shouted repeatedly to his warriors to stop retreating and to gather around him.[866] Despite Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb lamenting that "their flight won't stop until they reach the sea,"[867] Muḥammad's courage and shouts had the intended effect. The bulk

of panicked Muslim troops regrouped and returned to the fight with their long thrusting spears. Muḥammad even led a charge against the Hawāzin force at the head of the valley.[868] For a short but frenzied period, the close-quarters combat was chaotic and uncontrollable, with Muḥammad calling out, using an idiom for war found throughout pre-Islamic poetry, that "the oven is hot".[869] With hamstrung camels groaning and wounded warriors screaming, the Hawāzin, unsure what to do when the Muslims and allies regrouped, themselves began to panic. Abandoning their women, children and herds as old Durayd had said they would, they fled from the thrusting spears in a wild and un-chivalric panic, leaving their families and herds to be taken captive.

Interestingly, several *aḥādīth* testify to the ubiquitous obsession with booty. Even while Muḥammad and his closest comrades were fighting furiously and calling for reinforcements, other Muslims were already combing the battlefield for booty — risking death from Hawāzin arrows fired from above — when they should have been fighting.[870] This perhaps resulted from a misunderstanding of Muḥammad's shouted promise that, if the warriors who had left were to return and fight, they could "keep the *salab!*"[871] This, it will be remembered, is the armor, weapons and personal effects taken as spoils off anyone they slew. He did not, of course, mean that they should do so before the battle was won.

According to al-Wāqidī, after the fighting died down Muḥammad sent cavalry under Abū ʻĀmir al-Ashʻarī to hunt down the fleeing enemy warriors (who escaped partly to Awṭās and partly to Ṭā'if) in order to prevent them regrouping somewhere.[872] Abū ʻĀmir tracked those who had returned to the camp at Awṭās and were trying to regroup for ongoing fighting. He defeated them in battle, leaving their tents "covered in dust," to quote a poem in Ibn Hishām's account.[873] The Hawāzin may have initially fled unheroically, but to restore their damaged reputations they came out one after the other seeking to die well in duels, which they accomplished. Abū ʻĀmir alone won nine duels before finally losing his life to a mighty Hawāzin fighter who was himself then killed in a duel by Abū ʻĀmir's cousin, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʻarī.[874] Although Mālik ibn ʻAwf and some of his cavalry warriors escaped, they were few in number and were well aware of the severity of their defeat, which had been made so much worse by Muḥammad's capture of all the Hawāzin women and herds. On the other

hand, when things calmed that morning, Muḥammad became aware of the massive extent of his triumph; which greatly eclipsed even his victory at Badr.

Explaining this is easy. Although the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf had successfully ambushed Muḥammad's vanguard, they should not have done so. They should have let that vanguard pass them so that they could attack the center of the force, simultaneously sealing each end of the valley with their fast-moving cavalry (which Durayd had advised Mālik) so that the vanguard could not return to save it and the center itself could not withdraw for long enough to regain its confidence. Inflicting heavy losses on the trapped Muslims in the center would probably have been sufficient to give the Hawāzin a victory. Attacking prematurely — Mālik had told his warriors to attack Muḥammad's men "as soon as you see them"[875] — instead gave them a jubilant moment of initial success, but no means of exploiting it. Despite old Durayd's urgings to Mālik, the cavalry made no major appearance, at least as far as we can tell from the sources.

If we accept at face value the implausible claim of the *Sīrah* sources that the warriors on both sides totaled 32,000, it is very clear from the astonishingly low casualty figures — four Muslims killed and fewer than 100 of their foes (0.03% and 0.5% respectively) — that the battle did not involve more than a clash between a far smaller contingent on each side which was over very quickly. Not a set-piece battle, it was no more than a frenzied contact battle followed by almost immediate disengagement.

The earliest surviving narrative sources disagree on many issues relating to Ḥunayn, and it is clear that the descendants of various groups gave accounts that exculpated their ancestors' mistakes or blamed others for them. The authors of the earliest extant accounts, including al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām, and Ibn Sa'd, tried to make sense of the contradictory accounts and the biases they reflected, but they ultimately failed to reconcile all the contradictions or step back from their own biases. Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and members of his clan, and indeed many other new Muslims, come out looking implausibly cowardly and disingenuous, and the Prophet's uncle al-'Abbās is given a prominent role in steeling the nerves of retreating Muslims. As noted above, these views should be seen as the product of the anti-Umayyad milieu of the early 'Abbāsid era in which most of the narrative accounts were written. The relentlessly but subtly negative

portrayal of Khālid ibn al-Walīd also makes one skeptical that such a courageous man, given charge of the vanguard after all, would have fled upon appearance of the Hawāzin attackers.

The Sulaym never admitted that they had fled, and in their post-battle poetry they bragged that, in fact, they had won the day for Muḥammad. Al-ʻAbbās ibn Mirdās ibn Abī ʻĀmir, a famous chief and warrior-poet eulogized his tribe's performance: "On the Day of Ḥunayn when the Hawāzin came against us / and we could barely breathe / we stood firm with Ḍaḥḥāk ibn Sufyān / Struggle and combat did not trouble us / In front of the Messenger of Allah a flag fluttered above us".[876] The poet also boasted: "That day we drove away the Hawāzin with spears / Our horses were shrouded in shining dust … / In the midst, the spears were thrusting / Until Prophet Muḥammad said / O Banū Sulaym, you have been loyal, so stop now / We left, but for us their [the Hawāzin's] courage would have injured the believers and they would have kept what they had gained."[877]

The humiliation of having fled, followed by the jubilation of having been victorious, caused wild and confusing passions to erupt among some of Muḥammad's men who were rounding up the Hawāzin and Thaqīf prisoners. They executed some prisoners on the spot. This included children, which incensed Muḥammad, who stopped it and bitterly complained that it was inexcusable.[878] We cannot attribute this only to non-Muslims or freshly converted Muslims. When Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr, a long-time Muslim from the Aws who had converted even before Muḥammad had arrived in Medina and had earned a reputation for loyalty and piety, replied that they were only the children of polytheists, Muḥammad shot back, "Aren't the best of you [Muslims] also the children of polytheists?"[879] He was also annoyed by the priorities of the Sulaym, who, after returning to the battle following their inglorious rout, were reluctant to kill any of the fleeing Hawāzin lest they inadvertently kill any kin. This prompted the Prophet to say, "Regarding my community, they put down their weapons [that is, would not fight], but regarding their community, they raised their weapons [that is, refused to kill]".[880]

Muḥammad soon realized that he had captured a staggering and highly lucrative amount of booty, including male prisoners, women, children, camels, goats and sheep, which warriors were already squabbling over. The long-established Muslims knew not to take booty away themselves, but to

present it for centralized record-keeping and subsequent distribution under Muḥammad's authority. The non-Muslims and new Muslims were not yet aquatinted with this system, and began to take away what they believed they had themselves earned. Muḥammad had his heralds circulate on the battlefield, calling out his orders that everything must be handed in centrally for later distribution. Keeping anything at this stage would count as theft. One man who had taken a needle on the battlefield and then given it to his wife felt so convicted that he took the needle back from her and handed it in.[881]

The total booty came to over 6,000 women and children (which entirely belies the claim that the enemy warriors numbered 20,000), 24,000 camels and 40,000 sheep. They also gained around 160,000 dirhams worth of silver.[882] On top of this, of course, warriors were entitled to keep or gain the value of captured warriors and the armor, weapons and other possessions of those they had slain. To give an idea of how much value each warrior's armor and weapons were worth as booty, the example of Abū Qatāda is revealing. He later sold the armor and weapons of the man he had killed at Ḥunayn, and the money he received was sufficient for him to buy an orchard of date palms back in Medina, from which "we continue living off until the present day".[883] Muḥammad did not distribute the booty immediately, of course. Not only did it all need careful recording and calculating, but an early release of booty would distract and occupy the recipients, preventing them from fighting again, and Muḥammad now had Ṭā'if to deal with. Ṭā'if had sent warriors to fight him, and was now, after the defeat at Ḥunayn, a refuge for many of those who had fled. He therefore placed the captured families and herds under the care of Mas'ūd ibn 'Amr al-Ghifāri (al-Ṭabarī says al-Qārī) and had it sent to a large flat plain named al-Ji'rāna, closer to Mecca, for it to be dealt with later.[884] He placed the male prisoners under Budayl ibn Warqā' al-Khuzā'ī and also sent them to al-Ji'rāna.[885] He would distribute the booty to his highly impatient warriors, but not just yet. First, he had to march on Ṭā'if.

The Siege of Ṭā'if After resting and taking care of administration matters for a few days, the Prophet led his warriors towards Ṭā'if. He had asked al-Ṭufayl ibn 'Amr, a

loyal follower from the Banū Daws to go home to his people to destroy the cultic shrine and idol of Dhū l-Kaffayn ("He of the Two Palms"), which he did, burning it down before returning to Muḥammad with four hundred men of his tribe and presenting him with one or two small mangonels (مجانيق, manjānīq), a type of manually powered (that is, torsion-less) trebuchet or catapult, and other "war machines".[886] These were apparently covered wagons intended to protect warriors from spears, arrows and rocks as they drew close to fortress walls. These seemed very helpful at the time. Ṭā'if was highly unusual in the Ḥijāz of being enclosed by a solid and imposing wall (hence its name Ṭā'if, which comes from the root "to circle" and thus means something like "the encircled").[887]

On the way to Ṭā'if, taking the longer indirect route that ascended gradually up to the city's elevation of 1,879 m (6,165 ft) above sea-level[888], rather than the more direct route which would have involved a difficult slog up a tightly winding and very steep mountain path, Muḥammad and his men passed a fortress in Liyya. He asked who it belonged to. Learning that it was one of Mālik ibn 'Awf's strongholds, Muḥammad ordered it to be burned, but not before double-checking that it was unoccupied.[889] He also ordered the destruction of a walled orchard belonging to a man of Thaqīf who refused to come out.[890]

Arriving at Ṭā'if after several days, the Prophet set up his camp (at the center of which was his prestigious chieftain's leather tent and two tents for his wives Umm Salama and Zaynab) close enough to the walls to be unsafe from arrows. Several Muslims were killed.[891] As noted above, the dutiful al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir asked him whether God had told him to set up camp at that location, or whether he has used his own initiative. Muḥammad gratefully asked him to find a safer location, now mournfully aware that the Thaqīf arrows were devastatingly effective. Indeed, 'Amr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī later described the arrows fired at them from Ṭā'if's walls as being like a swarm of locusts. This is not hyperbole. Arabs could discharge arrows in huge quantities and at a fantastic rate. For example, at the future Battle of the Camel (in December 656), the howdah of the Prophet's widow

‘Ā’isha was so full of arrows — which fell like rain across the battlefield while no-one was actually targeting her — that several observers compared it a hedgehog.[892]

Arrows actually killed almost all the twelve Muslims who died during the unsuccessful siege of Ṭā’if before Muḥammad abandoned it after two or three weeks[893] of failing to overcome the city walls.[894] Seven of the dead were from the Quraysh, four from the *Anṣār*, and one from the Banū Layth. Arrows wounded many others, some severely. Al-Balādhurī informs us that, “on the Day [i.e., the Battle] of Ṭā’if, Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb lost his eye,” which can only have been to an arrow.[895]

The mangonels proved useless, lobbing rocks at or over the wall for no obvious effect and causing a moral concern about their indiscriminate effect. The Prophet hated the idea that women and children inside might be hit. The covered siege wagons were equally ineffective. When Muslims entered them and tried to get up against the walls (and we have no record that they bought or made a sufficient number of ladders anyway), the Thaqīf’s warriors threw down red-hot scraps of iron, which set fire to the covers and drove out the men inside, several of whom were killed by arrows.[896] Aware that their best means of surviving was to remain safely behind their walls, they made no attempts to break the siege. Perhaps anticipating that they might sally out one night, Muḥammad made a type of barrier of thorny bushes (mentioned but not described in the sources).[897] Al-Wāqidī infers that this was placed around Ṭā’if, as if to prevent any supplies getting in, but that makes no sense. Which tribe or group would dare risk earning the enmity of the all-conquering Muḥammad to come to the Thaqīf’s aid? The creation of a barrier of thorny branches only makes sense if it was placed around, or in front of, the Muslim camp, to prevent a surprise attack by the Thaqīf, probably at night. Al-Balādhurī says that Muḥammad also brought wooden stakes with him (presumably sharpened) for exactly this purpose.[898]

It was clear that this siege was unlike the previous attacks on the fortresses of the Jewish tribes in Medina and Khaybar, which will be analyzed below. Ṭā’if’s strong stone walls — recently repaired and strengthened in case of attack — safely enclosed its people, and their sources of water could not be disrupted. They had also stockpiled enough food for a year.[899] Sending in emissaries to reason with the inhabitants

achieved nothing, except to prove to Muḥammad once and for all that, despite his apparent usefulness as a warrior, ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn was neither intelligent nor wise. ‘Uyayna asked to try to negotiate the surrender of the city, which Muḥammad allowed. However, when he spoke with the Thaqīf leaders, ‘Uyayna became awed by their manly defiance and told them to stand firm, because Muḥammad was already growing impatient and would probably soon lift the siege.[900] When he returned to Muḥammad, ‘Uyayna naturally told a different story, assuring the Prophet that he had called the Thaqīf to Islam and informed them that Muḥammad, who was expert at siege warfare, would certainly persevere. When Muḥammad called him out on his lie, ‘Uyayna immediately fell apart, confessed his wrongdoing, begged forgiveness and assured him that he would never repeat such behavior. Muḥammad duly forgave him.[901]

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Muḥammad’s siege of Ṭā’if was his decision to destroy some of the Thaqīf’s vineyards outside the city walls, presumably in order to coerce the inhabitants to surrender. The destruction of fruits trees was considered bad form by many Arabs, especially by the desert-dwellers, although it would certainly be going too far to say that customary law prohibited it. When Muḥammad had supposedly done the same thing earlier at Khaybar (if we are to believe al-Wāqidī), Abū Bakr had asked him to stop. On that occasion, Muḥammad had listened to his best friend and told his heralds to proclaim that his warriors should stop what they had already started.[902] Then, when he sent his 3,000-strong war party up to Mu’ta in September 629, he had explicitly told it not to cut down trees.[903] Now, the situation at Ṭā’if was almost the same as it had been at Khaybar, except this time, after Muḥammad ordered the destruction of the Thaqīf’s vineyard, it was the Thaqīf’s own response that prompted a change of mind. The Thaqīf spokesmen pointed out that, even if the Muslims managed to burn or cut down every vine, they would eventually grow back because Muḥammad could not destroy the soil and the water. And anyway, if God wanted Muḥammad’s siege to succeed, it would, and Muḥammad would inevitably gain those vineyards as spoils of war.[904] Muḥammad reflected. He doubtless understood that with a coercive operation, the recipient (in this case, the Thaqīf) actually holds the initiative. If the coercive activity does not take the coerced people to the edge of their pain threshold, and the coerced people chooses to hold firm,

the coercer must either cease or escalate. Muḥammad immediately recognized that the Thaqafites were holding firm and not sufficiently stressed by the destruction of some of its vines. Not wanting to escalate, he ordered the destruction to end, even if by that stage many vines had been cut down.[905]

Hamidullah was perhaps disingenuous when (doubtless wanting to portray Muḥammad in an idealized fashion) he wrote that the Prophet had "threatened that he would destroy the vineyards," but then "revoked his order."[906] This implies that he did so before the destruction of vines. The sources are clear, however, that when Muḥammad first gave the order, his men immediately complied and cut down vines and burnt them. Ibn Sa'd says, for instance, that "the Muslims devastated many vineyards."[907] Without wishing to enter the domain of *Fiqh*, or to advance a position, it is sufficient to say that there should be no sense of embarrassment. If some jurists argued for a legal prohibition in later generations, based on what Muḥammad said before the Tabūk campaign, that does not mean that what happened before then was in any way immoral.

Modern Islamic writers of the Prophet's biography — this side of the abolition movements of the nineteenth century and the human rights movements of the twentieth — make much of the fact that Muḥammad had his heralds declare that any slaves within Ṭā'if who came out and accepted Islam would gain their freedom. This certainly happened, according to the earliest extant sources, and around a dozen slaves came out and gained their freedom.[908] Yet we should not see this as indicative of a clear abolitionist message within Islam (there was none, at least not yet) or as an effective means of coercive pressure. Copying al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd says that the release of these prisoners was "unbearable to the people of Ṭā'if," which must be seen as greatly hyperbolic given that these sources themselves do not mention a single consequence.[909] Even if annoying[910], the manumission of a dozen slaves made no impact whatsoever on the Thaqīf's interest in negotiating a settlement. That does not diminish the sense of humanity embedded within Muḥammad's gesture. It was certainly a nice touch.

Muḥammad was no fool. He could see that a short siege would not work, and a prolonged siege, even if it finally achieved its goal after several months or more, would greatly weaken the massive reputational boost that he had recently gained from the conquest of Mecca and the defeat of the

Hawāzin (with the gaining of plentiful booty). Every ongoing week of the Thaqīf's resistance would drain the energy and weaken the reputation (not to mention strain the patience) of the Muslim forces. It is impossible to see how Muḥammad could have kept well-fed, busy and optimistic during a dull and eventless siege his very large military force of supposedly more than ten thousand (excluding the unrecorded number of men kept at al-Ji'rāna to guard prisoners, care for the captured women and children, and keep scores of thousands of animals alive and safely herded). A prolonged siege would also frustrate those of his warriors who were desperate to see the Hawāzin booty distributed.

When Abū Bakr told Muḥammad that he did not think God had ordained for him to take Ṭā'if at that time, Muḥammad agreed. He was not frustrated or angry.[911] He had really liked the advice given when he had asked Nawfal ibn Mu'āwiya al-Dīlī whether he should persevere or withdraw. Nawfal eloquently replied that Muḥammad had driven the fox back into its hole. If he persevered, he would eventually capture the fox, but if he let it stay in its hole, it would henceforth cause no harm.[912] The meaning was clear: the Thaqīf had done their very best at Ḥunayn in partnership with the Hawāzin, and had failed miserably. They might be safe for now back inside their fortified city, but they would not be able to call on their Bedouin allies again and they would have a very poor future if they remained stuck behind their walls for too long. Eventually, they would have to make peace of some sort.

Liking Nawfal's advice, Muḥammad ordered a withdrawal, which made some of his men bitterly unhappy and unusually defiant. Having spent over two weeks in pursuit of victory and the booty it would bring, they considered his withdrawal order to be premature, and refused outright to comply with it. They insisted that they would not leave until they had taken the city. They appealed to both Abū Bakr and 'Umar, who urged them to obey their leader. 'Umar even admitted to them that he had likewise argued back at the Prophet during and after the Ḥudaybiyya negotiations, but the Prophet had been proven correct.[913] This was doubtless an unpleasant moment for Muḥammad, but he remained remarkably patient, aware that he was the Prophet of what was, in many ways, a rather wild bunch. Both martial glory and booty remained powerful, almost intoxicating, lures to them. He therefore agreed that they could try another assault the next

morning.[914] It duly failed, with many warriors being wounded by arrows, so when Muḥammad again ordered a withdrawal, the men who had previously demanded another attempt were actually relieved and immediately complied. As they headed away from Ṭā’if, Muḥammad was amused by the sudden turnaround of opinion.[915]

Little did Muḥammad know that, after eight years of conducting raids and fighting battles, the siege of Ṭā’if was the last battle he would personally fight. He sent out more raids and the Tabūk campaign was still to come, but as will be shown below, Tabūk involved no actual fighting.

The excitement among Muḥammad’s warriors about the distribution of the Hawāzin booty was significant and widespread, and Muḥammad wanted to get back to al-Ji‘rāna to take care of it. Yet it did not go smoothly. Indeed, with human nature pushing back against even the wisest of prophets and the clear teachings with which he came, the division of the spoils was rancorous, at least for a short time.

First, when Muḥammad and his men returned to al-Ji‘rāna, he felt sure that the Hawāzin leaders would come to negotiate the ransom and repatriation of the 6,000 women and children, and the men captured on the battlefield; that is, taken at Ḥunayn. He assumed they would come quickly, yet the first people he encountered as he drew near to al-Ji‘rāna were local Bedouins who, in their greedy desire for gifts of booty from the Prophet, pressed in against him and grabbed at him, tearing off his cloak. He angrily demanded its return, shouting at the Bedouins that they should stay patient. He was not a stingy man. He would do good to them.[916]

He worried about the welfare of his prisoners and, while waiting for Hawāzin leaders to come and ransom them, sent Busr ibn Sufyān al-Khuzā’i to Mecca to purchase garments so that the prisoners would at least be properly clothed.[917] After several days of waiting, Muḥammad gave some of the captured women to his key supporters, including people who were either not yet Muslims or were new and possibly wavering Muslims. He also began distributing the scores of thousands of animals taken as booty, apparently (according to al-Wāqidī) giving each of the foot soldiers four camels or forty sheep. Each horsemen received twelve camels or 120 sheep.[918]

There is clearly a mathematical problem with al-Wāqidī’s numbers. Given that around two thousand of the ten thousand warriors who took part in the

conquest of Mecca had horses[919], and we can very conservatively assume that at least 200 of the 2,000 Meccan warriors who joined them for the Ḥunayn and Ṭā'if campaigns had horses, we can only conclude that these 2,200 horsemen received the equivalent of 26,400 camels. Yet there were no more than 24,000 Hawāzin camels taken in total, which means that 24,000 sheep had to make up the difference of 2,400 camels. Given that there were 40,000 sheep taken, taking away 24,000 leaves only 16,000 sheep. With forty sheep going to each foot soldier, 16,000 sheep would only satisfy 400 men, yet there were close to ten thousand foot-soldiers.

Compounding this mathematical confusion, the sources say that Muḥammad gave unusually large shares from the *Khums*[920] (in the round, not just his one-fifth of the one-fifth[921]) to twenty non-Muslims and new Muslims from the Quraysh and the recently allied tribes whose hearts he wanted to win (أَلمُؤَلفة قُلوبهم, literally "whose hearts are to be reconciled"). As he was later quoted as saying: "The People of Quraysh are still close to the *Jāhiliyya* and have suffered a lot [by having lost their independence], and I want to help them and to appeal to their hearts."[922] In particular, he gave one hundred camels each to Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb and his two sons, Mu'āwiya and Yazīd (thus indirectly giving Abū Sufyān, perhaps the person he now knew he needed more than others, a massive herd of 300), and one hundred each to the erratic 'Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn (who may not then or ever after have accepted Islam[923]) and either one hundred or fifty camels to sixteen other leaders whose loyalty he wanted to cement.[924] When one of his companions asked why some of these men were getting such generous allocations, Muḥammad explained that he had "treated them generously so as to bring them to Islam."[925]

He was artful in the way he went about this. He noticed, for example, that Ṣafwān ibn Umayya — the bitter Meccan foe who, although forgiven, had not yet become a Muslim — was admiring the large herds in a particular ravine. He asked Ṣafwān if he liked what he saw. The polytheist replied that indeed he did, to which Muḥammad replied that both the ravine and the herds were all his, with no strings attached. Ṣafwān immediately converted to Islam, claiming that only a real prophet possessed such qualities.[926] Muḥammad likewise noticed that Abū Sufyān was admiring the silver bars that were piled up. When Abū Sufyān remarked that Muḥammad had

overnight become the wealthiest man of the Quraysh, and asked him to share some of the silver, the Prophet gave him four measures along with the aforementioned camels.[927]

One might see these inducements as evidence that their submission to Muḥammad, or conversion to Islam, was insincere, based only on the tangible benefits to be gained by doing so. Muḥammad certainly encouraged sincerity, knowing it was a godly quality praised in the Qur'ān. He strongly disliked insincerity. Yet he was also pragmatic. He understood that Arabs loved booty and other forms of reward. He appears not to have judged the motives, leaving that privilege to God, preferring instead to accept the actions. As he sometimes said regarding this very matter, "I am not ordered to look into the hearts of men."[928] He sensibly understood that he could far more easily work on transforming their beliefs once they were inside the community, rather than if they remained outside.

Often when tribal delegations came to meet with him in Medina, he rewarded those who accepted Islam with valuable "prizes" (الجوائز), such as gifts of silver.[929] He had a standard "prize" amount, which he asked Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ, who seems to have acted as a type of steward for the Prophet's personal finances, to give to all those in the delegations who converted. He also sometimes gave extra if he heard that people came from a poor tribe or lacked money for the return trip. Modern critics might see this as an unpalatable or at least an unusual thing to do, but it accords with the Qur'ānic revelation that rewarding faith in material ways will strengthen the faith and create long-lasting gratitude. In political terms, this will lead to ongoing loyalty.

This logic explains Muḥammad's response to 'Amr ibn al-'As, a Meccan antagonist who only finally swore allegiance to Muḥammad and embraced Islam "on the condition that my past sins be pardoned and that he [Muḥammad] will give me an active part in affairs".[930] Muḥammad was very glad to oblige and duly gave 'Amr high posts. 'Amr went on to lead the Muslim conquest of Egypt and twice served as its governor.

Muḥammad's "reward" system may have represented inducement, which is a very respectful diplomatic method of winning people who might otherwise need different reasons for reaching agreement than purely intellectual persuasion, but it was certainly not bribery; money paid to

induce some type of unethical conduct. Indeed, the early source reveal no examples of Muḥammad ever offering bribes, much less for something immoral. That did not stop, on this occasion, one observer at al-Jiʻrāna from accusing Muḥammad of unfairness. This visibly annoyed Muḥammad, but he merely replied that if justice could not be found within him, in who on earth could it be found?[931] He then calmed himself, noting that Moses had remained patient against worse annoyances.[932]

This man was not the only person to feel unhappy with the quantity of spoils that they received in al-Jiʻrāna. After receiving a relatively small number of camels, al-ʻAbbās ibn Mirdās of the Banū Sulaym, despite his seniority and prestige, felt deeply slightly and composed a poem bitterly complaining about what he saw as the injustice of his situation. Abū Bakr reported this to the Prophet, who, far from wanting to punish the poet, asked Abū Bakr to explain the grievance to him. He then raised al-ʻAbbas's gift to one hundred camels, the amount given to the most senior chiefs, leaving him satisfied.[933]

The greatest complaint came from among the 4,000 *Anṣār*, who were aghast to receive no booty at all (which solves the apparent mathematical problem in al-Wāqidī's account).[934] It went only to the *Muhājirūn* and to the *Ṭulaqā*, the Meccan "freed ones".[935] The *Anṣār* had loyally served the Prophet since the *Hijra* seven and a half years earlier and had fought and died for him, as the largest component in every force, in many battles. Yet now, when Muḥammad had gained his greatest amount of booty by far, they had to watch while their long-term enemy, the Quraysh, and the newly allied Bedouin tribes, were receiving booty (and their leaders were getting huge awards) while they were not getting anything.

Some of the *Anṣār* suspected that, now that Muḥammad had liberated Mecca, his hometown, he would live there again and not return to Medina, their city, even though they had given him refuge and ceaseless support. Was this unequal apportionment of spoils the result of favoritism? They said among themselves, and to their leaders: "If this decision is from Allah, then we will be patient, but if it is from Allah's Messenger, we will ask for an explanation."[936] After all, this was the open environment of dialogue that Muḥammad had fostered. Muḥammad let people speak their minds regarding any decisions that had come from his own reasoning and not from revelation. Back when he had arrived in Medina almost eight years earlier,

he had told people from the *Anṣār*: “I am a human, so when I command you about a thing pertaining to religion you should do it, and when I command you about a thing out of my personal opinion, keep in mind that I am [just] a human.”[937]

The earliest biographical sources relate the entire remarkable exchange between the *Anṣār* and the Prophet over the booty taken at Ḥunayn. Clearly the sources are not verbatim records, and should not be treated as such, yet, given that they show strong dissent among the believers, they undoubtedly contain something of the original and authentic flavor. They reveal Muḥammad’s political acumen and mastery of language and rhetorical persuasion. When he heard of the *Anṣār*’s serious dissatisfaction at being denied spoils of war, he “became very angry” (“فغضب من ذلك غضباً شديداً”), but asked to speak to Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubāda, the *Anṣār* leader. [938] When Sa‘d arrived at Muḥammad’s leather chieftain tent, he reaffirmed the *Anṣār*’s view that, if the decision came from God, they would be patient, but if it was Muḥammad’s decision, they demanded an explanation. Muḥammad asked where Sa‘d stood on the issue, to which he replied: “O Messenger of Allah, what am I except one of them?”

Muḥammad then asked Sa‘d to gather the disaffected, wanting to address them all rather than just Sa‘d and other leaders. He knew it was important that everyone felt both included and valued. He then conveyed empathy, advising them that, yes, he understood that they were angry.[939] This was an important way of making them feel heard and appreciated. Then he appealed to their understanding, highlighting that the spiritual benefits outweighed material gain: I came to you [in Medina] in your ignorance, and has not Allah guided you? I came to you in your poverty, and has not Allah already enriched you? In enmity, and has not Allah reconciled you?

They replied: “It is very true; Allah and His Messenger have been kind and gracious to us.” He then asked why they would not speak further to support their case, to which they replied, “But what more can we say?” Muḥammad then cleverly spoke on their behalf, putting himself in their place and emphasizing their own constant kindness to him, thereby restoring to them a sense of honor and the certainty that he deeply appreciated them: By Allah, if you wanted you could have told me, and you would have been truthful, that you came to us discredited [O Muḥammad], but we gave our

trust to you. You came alone, and we supported you. You were an outcast and we gave you asylum. You were distressed and we comforted you.
After this reaffirmation of the huge debt of gratitude that he owed them, he advised them not to be so concerned about the affairs of the world, having become reconciled to God. Then, appealing to their emotions, he asked them to reflect on one key question: Are you not content that the people [of Mecca] will return only with camels and sheep, while you will return with the Messenger of Allah [to Medina]? By Him whose hand holds my soul, if it were not by circumstance, I would be an *Anṣār* myself. If the people of Mecca went to a valley, and the *Anṣār* to another valley, I would choose your valley to go to.[940]
He then told them not to feel discouraged; that whenever the riches of Bahrayn came to him, he would give it to them, and not to the Meccans. In the meantime, they should be patient, knowing that he would return to their city, not to Mecca, and that they would be given treasure in heaven, including bowls more numerous than the stars. He then stretched his hands to the sky and cried aloud: "O Allah, bless the *Anṣār*, the children of the *Anṣār* and the grandchildren of the *Anṣār*."[941]

Hearing this, the *Anṣār* were both satisfied and profoundly moved, weeping so much that their beards were wet and they sobbed loudly: "We are satisfied, O Messenger of God, with how you have benefitted us."[942] The matter was resolved, and they dispersed, with neither side holding the slightest grudge. On Muḥammad's part, it was an oratorical masterpiece, but only one of many recorded in the sources.

When the Hawāzin delegates finally turned up to negotiate the return of their women and children, after having perhaps learned that their herds had already been distributed, they arrived as freshly-converted Muslims. This doubtless pleased Muḥammad and facilitated easier negotiations. They understood that their herds had gone, according to the norms of the time, but they hoped that they might still be able to get back their families, which were also fairly taken spoils of war; the legitimate prize of victory at that time. Muḥammad asked them which they preferred, aware that the only reasonable answer was their families, which they then asked for. They appealed to him on the basis of mercy and forgiveness. He promised to return them all. Because he had already distributed some of the women — having waited for over a week for the delegates before logically concluding

that they were not coming — he would have to ask his warriors to give them back. Most readily agreed, although the Banū Tamīm initially refused, as did al-‘Abbās ibn Mirdās of the Sulaym, who was immediately contradicted by his people, who agreed to return all the women they had.[943] The ever-unwise ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn also refused. The Prophet then satisfied those who held out by offering to buy them back; in effect compensating them financially for what he had earlier given to them for nothing. He offered six camels for each, this to be paid when they next campaigned and received booty (which shows how far he had stretched the booty allocations this time). It was a fine deal, and they readily agreed.[944] Muḥammad then restored to the Hawāzin their women and children.

He asked the Hawāzin delegates what had happened to Mālik ibn ‘Awf, their leader. After learning that he had fled to Ṭā’if and now feared for his life, Muḥammad asked them to assure Mālik that he was safe. Indeed, if Mālik came to him as a Muslim, he would restore his family and property to him and give him a chief’s share of the booty: one hundred camels. Mālik was initially distrustful and fearful, but he soon plucked up courage to sneak out of Ṭā’if in the night (fearing that the Thaqīf would stop and maybe kill him if they knew he was swapping sides). Muḥammad clearly saw something in him, and when Mālik arrived and immediately converted, he welcomed him warmly and gave him back his family plus the promised hundred camels. Muḥammad them gave him authority over the tribes around Ṭā’if and curiously gave him another job: to keep the fox in its hole (to quote Nawfal ibn Mu‘āwiya); in other words, to keep Ṭā’if under surveillance and armed pressure.[945] This was an astute move. It would keep the Hawāzin and the Thaqīf on opposite sides, preventing them rebuilding their alliance, and it would seriously weaken the Thaqīf’s power of resistance. Mālik did an effective job, continuously raiding Ṭā’if’s herds and severing its trade. Mālik routinely sent a delighted Muḥammad a fifth of everything he took, which proved to be substantial throughout the next eight or nine months.[946]

Mālik’s continuous pressure, combined with Mecca’s loss as a major trade partner and an awareness that Muḥammad’s power was irresistible, eventually compelled the Thaqafites to travel to Medina to seek terms with him around ten months after he had lifted the siege. The reports in the earliest extant sources about the negotiations between Muḥammad and the

Thaqīf delegation, and the concessions and privileges that he granted or refused, differ and even contradict each other in places.[947] Yet the sources are sufficient to establish a few basic facts: the Thaqīf delegation made a series of demands that would effectively water down their religious obligations (primarily regarding the eschewing of adultery, alcohol, and any profits from usury, plus the need for what they called the "humiliation" of prostration in the daily prayers).[948] Muḥammad rejected these demands, and was forceful when they asked for the statue of their goddess al-Lāt to be spared destruction, even if only for a set time. The *Sīrah* narratives and other Islamic sources show that Muḥammad did, on the other hand, concede that other people (his own men) could destroy the idol rather than them having to do it, and he allowed the Thaqīf the right to call in debts owed to them up to the day of their conversion, including the interest, yet, when paying their own debts, they would only pay the capital without interest. He also gave them what today we would call tax breaks, and allowed them more autonomy than Mecca had. In particular, he agreed that no one could enter Ṭā'if without their permission, that they could continue their city developmental plans without interference, and that a governor would be appointed only from amongst themselves, and not from other peoples. The Prophet clearly wanted to "reconcile their hearts" and to ease them into Islam by stages, rather than imposing too much upon them too soon.

It was a terrific example of a win-win, with Muḥammad only yielding on relatively minor issues, which were time-specific, and the Thaqīf delegates able to go home feeling that they had won at least a few points. Most important, it meant that Muḥammad finally gained the third of the central Ḥijāz's three major cities (after Medina and Mecca), and without recourse to warfare. For Muḥammad it was a huge win; he knew that if the Thaqafites made *bay'a* to him, many of the tribes of the Najd would soon follow suit. If Ṭā'if held out, they might too.

That does not mean that the delegates found it easy to convince their people. They knew that the end of the city's freedom would be a bitter pill to swallow, so, with Muḥammad's permission, they went back to Ṭā'if and complained that Muḥammad the warlord was rough, demanding and excessive, adding that, because they knew the Thaqafites would never accept the demands, they should now prepare for war.[949] Fighting was inevitable. After a couple of days of defiant bluster, the people became so

fearful that Muḥammad might indeed attack them again, which they could not survive a second time, that they asked the delegates to compromise with Muḥammad. The delegates then revealed that, in fact, they had negotiated a deal that would save them from war if they would accept Islam. Relieved, they agreed and did so.

Tabūk: Muḥammad's Last Hurrah The agreement with the Thaqīf occurred soon after Muḥammad had returned from campaigning in the Arabian north in December 630. Reportedly this campaign had been of unparalleled scale, yet its purpose, timing and the course of events themselves are very poorly described and not explained at all. Indeed, the early Arabic sources focus mainly on castigating people for trying to get out of going, and on the hardships that the participants experienced. The Qur'ān itself has several verses highlighting the unwillingness of people and, in explicit terms, threatening punishment on those who made excuses or lied to get out of going. The Qur'ānic revelation now numbered as *Sūrah al-Tawba* **9:38-39 was very blunt: يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ مَا لَكُمْ إِذَا قِيلَ لَكُمُ انفِرُواْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ اثَّاقَلْتُمْ إِلَى الأَرْضِ أَرَضِيتُم بِالْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الآخِرَةِ فَمَا مَتَاعُ الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا فِي الآخِرَةِ إِلاَّ قَلِيلٌ**

إِلاَّ تَنفِرُواْ يُعَذِّبْكُمْ عَذَاباً أَلِيماً وَيَسْتَبْدِلْ قَوْماً غَيْرَكُمْ وَلاَ تَضُرُّوهُ شَيْئاً وَاللّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

> 38. O you who believe! What is the matter with you [that,] when it is said to you: "Go forth in Allah's cause," you cling heavily to the earth? Are you content with the present world, rather than the Hereafter? But what is the enjoyment of the worldly life compared with the Hereafter?
> 39. If you do not mobilize, He will punish you with a painful punishment, and He will replace you with another people, whereas you can in no way harm Him. God has full power over everything.

We are really left to speculate on the reason why, in October 630, Muḥammad ordered the raising of a massive force, which hyperbolically has been rounded out to 30,000[950], and marched it north in what appears to

have been an intensely hot period. Al-Wāqidī, followed by Ibn Sa‘d, reports that Muḥammad had heard stories from travellers of a great Byzantine force mobilizing on Heraclius’ orders in central Shām, which apparently included several Arab tribes (the Lakhmids, Judhām, Ghassān and ‘Āmila), some of which had chased an Islamic force away from Mu’ta around a year earlier.[951] According to these rumors, Heraclius remained further north in Ḥimṣ (Homs in modern Syria), while his mighty army reportedly gathered near al-Balqā, the eastern plateau of the Jordan River valley in modern Jordan. Al-Wāqidī himself expresses skepticism — writing that “this was not a fact, but rather something that had been said and then repeated” (“ولم يكن ذلك، إنما ذلك شيءٌ قِيل لهم فقالوه”) — yet he offers no other explanation as to why Muḥammad would want to march north. He merely says that stories of what was happening in the Levant were reaching Medina “every day” from travellers, and that claims of a large army were significant because “there was not an enemy more fearful to the Muslims than them”.[952] Ibn Hishām, followed by al-Ṭabarī, does not bother with this weak explanation and merely says that Muḥammad stayed in Medina until the month of Rajab and “then gave orders to prepare to raid the Romans” (“ثم أمر الناس بالتهيؤ لغزو الروم”).[953]

It makes no sense to believe al-Balādhurī’s claim that the Byzantines were specifically preparing an offensive against Muḥammad’s burgeoning polity down in the Ḥijāz (that is, “تجمَّع له”, “assembling against him”).[954] Muḥammad’s influence did not yet reach into southern Shām, let alone present an urgent and significant threat to the Byzantines. Islam’s previous foray into Shām had been easily driven back at Mu’ta, and, perhaps most importantly, for the Byzantines to attack the Islamic polity would involve a major campaign deep into the distant heart of the terribly unhospitable and often waterless Arabian Peninsula. Even if Heraclius had heard by then that an Arab chieftain was rapidly consolidating power in the far south, he would have been foolish indeed to attempt an offensive in the direction of distant Medina. In any event, Heraclius had threats around all the edges of his empire, with Arabs not (yet) being the severest threat. If he knew and was worried about Muḥammad’s growing strength in the region far south of his southern border, he would more likely have sought to create good relations through a treaty. After all, Islamic tradition tells us that, a year or

so earlier, Muḥammad had himself sent diplomatic letters seeking good relations to many regional leaders, including to Heraclius.[955]

Al-Wāqidī later writes, referring to the fact that Muḥammad would soon head north but not encounter any army, that "the stories which had reached the Prophet about Heraclius sending his people [literally, his companions] south and getting close to the bottom of Shām were untrue. He did not desire that, nor did he intend that."[956] It is therefore mind-boggling that many Islamic scholars have persisted with the view — for which there is no evidence whatsoever outside of the unverified rumors mentioned in the earliest books of *Sīrah* — that (as Hamidullah writes) "Heraclius intended to invade Muslim territory."[957] Perhaps the most baseless and historically inaccurate statement on the Tabūk campaign found within modern books of *Sīrah* is expressed in Al-Mubarakpuri's *The Sealed Nectar*: Caesar [Heraclius] could neither ignore the great benefit that [the] Mu'tah Battle had brought to Muslims nor disregard the Arab tribes' expectations of independence and their hopes of getting free from his influence and reign nor their alliance to the Muslims. Realizing all that, Caesar was aware of the progressive danger threatening his borders … So, he concluded that the demolition of the Muslims' power had grown [into] an urgent necessity … Caesar gathered a huge army of the Byzantines and pro-Roman Ghassanide tribes to launch a decisive bloody battle against the Muslims.[958]

Each line here — not just the nonsense about Mu'ta — contains factual and interpretative errors. If Heraclius was really hellbent on destroying the Islamic polity, he would have actually ordered or attempted it. He was a masterful campaigner, fearful of no-one. But he was not a fool, and indeed, the assertion that he was deeply troubled by the peninsula Arabs seems to be merely the product of religious chauvinism.

Even if he though it better to err on the side of caution by raising a defensive or pre-emptive force just in case, Muḥammad was unlikely to have seriously believed that the Romans would actually invade the Ḥijāz. He was an unusually observant, astute and politically savvy man. He was also not reckless and would have known that his community was not yet capable of engaging competitively in a pitched battle with the world's superpower. The earliest sources themselves perhaps only suggested that he might have believed it, and assertively responded to it, because it makes him seem manly, willing to take on the might of a vastly more powerful

military force, and it makes his raising of a huge mass of men, supposedly 30,000, seem like a *necessary* and therefore reasonable and responsible action. To strengthen this position, some writers have written without evidence that the Roman force must have been staggeringly large. A very popular recent book claims, for example, that, "despite reports that numbered the Roman army greater than 100,000 men, the Prophet elected to confront the enemy head-on."[959]

Actually, Muḥammad did not have to be pre-empting a possible attack (for which there was and is no evidence) to justify initiating a campaign northward. One can clearly see other reasons, which from the standpoint of an intelligent and strategic leader trying to create a strong, prosperous and lasting polity, were no less reasonable and honorable. As a former merchant, he was well aware that the prosperity of his polity required the maintenance, if not the strengthening, of trade with the various peoples of Shām. He also knew that he had not yet brought all the Arabs tribes in the north of Arabia under his influence (those immediately south of Shām or *in* the very south of Shām), much less gained their *bay'a* or converted them to Islam. Despite entering into agreements with a few more tribes round about during the period since he had conquered Mecca and defeated and converted the Hawāzin, Muḥammad's polity really still only extended as far north as the Jewish oasis of Taymā' (with whose people he now had good relations[960]). He wanted to be the leader of all the peninsula's Arabs, which would naturally have to be accomplished in stages. Expanding further northwards would therefore be preferable as the next step to trying to expand into the far less appealing Najd region, a vast and rugged expanse where "worthwhile targets were few and remote."[961] Ordering a campaign northward to impress or intimidate the tribes north of Taymā' would undoubtedly help him to strengthen control of the trade route to Shām and, if he demonstrated fearsome power (with a really large and strong force), he would be able to compel the mainly Christian Arab tribes and peoples of the north to negotiate agreements with him, hopefully with them also becoming Muslims. If he did not at this stage push too far north into Shām itself (the "frontier" of which was not demarcated as a recognized border like modern states have), he would not provoke a Byzantine response. He could sequentially work northward, eventually winning away from the Byzantines the Arab tribes that had for centuries protected them from raiders from the

peninsula. But one step at a time.

Muḥammad also recognized that he now led a community with many thousands of young and excitable men who had to be kept busy.[962] W. Montgomery Watt notes that these young men were used to incessant inter-tribal fighting, but if he wanted to create and maintain a stable, orderly and cohesive society, he would have to phase out that fighting. Yet to do so, "he must also provide some outlet for the warlike energies of the Arabs and for their excess population. This outlet he believed was to be found along the road to the north."[963]

When Muḥammad sent envoys to Mecca and to all the allied tribes calling for people to assemble in Medina for this great northward campaign, it was a very hot season of drought, which caused distress and very many complaints. He did not hide the fact that they would be heading far to the north, which would make the long journey unusually arduous, and that they might fight strong foes.[964] Al-Wāqidī highlights the double-faceted natured of this campaign — that it would involve both the likelihood of major fighting *and* serious physical struggle which would have to be endured — by writing that Muḥammad exhorted the Muslims to undertake both "fighting *and* Jihād" (القتال والجهاد).[965]

Even after eight years of constant raiding and fighting, Muḥammad had not been able to create an adequate, centralised and systematised provision of rations, armor and weapons. He had kept the Banū al-Naḍīr's weapons to distribute as needed, purchased weapons and horses himself for the Jihād, and frequently used part of his *Khums* for this and related purposes[966], which meant that, after he died, his successors Abū Bakr and 'Umar were able to use these weapons for their own wars.[967] Yet Muḥammad never had even close to enough armor and weapons to equip all men on his missions, and he still had no central war fund or armory.

Instead, for the great northward expedition, he did what he had done on previous occasions with very mixed results: he asked everyone to see the funding of the campaign as a *ṣadaqa*; a charity. The Qur'ānic revelation about this campaign was clear: "Whether you are [equipped only] lightly or fully, go forth and struggle [*wajāhidū*] with your wealth and your persons in the cause of Allah" (انْفِرُواْ خِفَافاً وَثِقَالاً وَجَاهِدُواْ بِأَمْوَالِكُمْ وَأَنفُسِكُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ).[968] This time he did not make the struggle, the Jihād, a

voluntary *ṣadaqa*. He mandated it. Everyone must go out with him, and everyone who had the means to give from their own money must contribute.

This aggravated some people, and not necessarily the poor. Even though the Muslims had confessed their belief in God and Muḥammad as God's messenger, there was a spectrum of sincerity and piety. Many humans simply do not have a very religious nature, and, despite Muḥammad being a highly effective communicator, not everyone always understood why he did or wanted certain things. Most of the Muslims had only converted in the last year or two.[969] Their religious knowledge was still undeveloped, and in many cases their commitment was shaky. And the converts from the Bedouin tribes (probably half or more of the Muslims at that stage) had never experienced centralised authority like this, with someone from outside their own tribe giving them instructions.

We have seen how, at every stage of Muḥammad's ministry, but especially when a lot of effort was required for little or no booty or other reward, many Muslims openly grumbled. A Qur'ānic revelation regarding the Tabūk campaign observed exactly that: "If there had been immediate gain, and the journey was easy, they would certainly have followed you."[970] There was obviously a problem with gaining the required funding because the Qur'ān criticised those who "will not contribute without being unwilling" (in other words, without being shamed or coerced into it), and called them "a people of defiant disobedience."[971]

This does not, of course, mean that no-one gave willingly. Very many did, including those of meagre means, and the wealthier Muslims in Muḥammad's inner circle unhesitatingly paid large amounts to alleviate the burden of poorer Muslims. 'Umar gave half of his property and Abū Bakr apparently contributed virtually all of his, causing 'Umar to complain good-naturedly that whenever they competed in good deeds, Abū Bakr always beat him. Others donated large quantities of dates and other foodstuffs. Their contributions paled in comparison to that of 'Uthman ibn 'Affān, who spent the most, funding a full third of the overall cost.[972]

Although the sources state that Muḥammad assembled a force of 30,000 warriors, no fewer than ten thousand of them on horseback[973], this seems to be gloss to distract readers' eyes away from the fact that it was a struggle to find enough riding camels for everyone, and many people took turns

walking and riding.[974] The amount of armor and weapons was also not fully adequate, which is what the Qur'ān refers to when it tells people to go forth "whether you are [equipped only] lightly or fully". With the campaign being ordered at short notice, and during a drought, food was also in very short supply. The suffocating heat meant that water also went down quickly, with everyone being pushed to their limits. This later led to the force to be remembered as the "army of hardship" (جَيْشِ الْعُسْرَةِ).[975] It was still an impressive host, and its overall strength and the high ratio of horsemen, although doubtless exaggerated in the sources, testify to Muḥammad's greatly heightened reputation and influence throughout the Ḥijāz. At the Battle of Badr six and a half years earlier he had led around 300 men, who had only seventy camels between them. Now he had assembled a force that took many hours after the vanguard left Medina for the last of the queuing rear-guard to take their place on the road. The entire column would have stretched for twenty kilometers (twelve miles) or so.

At the first stop, ʻAbdullāh Ibn Ubayy and his followers, which included his Qaynuqāʻ Jewish allies from Medina, withdrew and went home, perhaps with Muḥammad's permission because of Ibn Ubayy's severely weakened health. He was close to death and, in fact, passed away just after Muḥammad returned to Medina. The sources do not reveal how many of the 30,000 men returned with Ibn Ubayy, although al-Wāqidī and Ibn Saʻd provide an answer of sorts by commenting that, when Muḥammad and Ibn Ubayy had camped in the region of Thanniyat al-Wadā, not far north of Medina, "Ibn Ubayy's camp was not the lesser of the two camps."[976] This must be an exaggeration designed to show that Ibn Ubayy's departure was typically hurtful to the cause of Islam, yet it ironically shows that, even in Medina, Muḥammad was not yet the only leader; Ibn Ubayy still had a considerable following. While he came under Muḥammad's overall authority (apparently insincerely), he had retained his own appeal to many of his people. It also shows that, despite the common misperception that Muḥammad had expelled or killed all of Medina's Jews, there were still many there, living safely.

The journey northward was excruciating nonetheless. The heat was debilitating and dehydrating, and many exhausted camels could not keep up and began to fall behind. Muḥammad insisted that the column keep moving,

entrusting to God those who fell behind. Even worse, the food quickly ran out and people began to complain of acute hunger. It would be the same on the return trip. Some warriors approached the Prophet and asked if they could slaughter their camels for food. Muḥammad felt compassion, and assented, at which point ‘Umar bluntly insisted that they stop.[977] If they killed their riding camels, he said, the journey would soon grind to a halt. He proposed instead that Muḥammad should gather everyone’s remaining rations, so that he could bless what was left and distribute it. Muḥammad agreed and, the sources say, the food miraculously fed everyone.

There was at least one moment of relief. When they reached the Jewish town of Wādī al-Qurā, members of a sympathetic subtribe named Banū ‘Urayḍ made for Muḥammad a meal of Harīs, which is cooked meat and wheat ground together, and spoke kindly to him and about him.[978] He was so grateful that he bestowed upon it a reward of forty camel-loads of dates per year “until the Day of Judgment,” a gift that was still in place several hundred years later.[979] Al-Bakrī notes that, when Jews were later driven from the Ḥijāz, those Jews were not exiled.[980]

Even if the journey north to Tabūk and back was a severe Jihād, Muḥammad’s activities during the twenty days[981] in which he and his warriors camped in Tabūk were rewarding enough to warrant the struggle. Heraclius and his army were nowhere to be seen, of course, and al-Wāqidī, wanting to drive home the point that Heraclius had never initiated a campaign against Muḥammad, reiterates that the emperor had never in fact left Ḥimṣ, 800 kilometers (500 miles) to the north.[982]

This meant that Muḥammad was free to do what came very easily to him: form diplomatic relations with local tribes. Aware from his own network of observers that an intimidatingly large force was heading north from the Ḥijāz, Yuḥanna ibn Ru‘ba, the gold cross-adorned ruler of Ayla (modern-day al-‘Aqaba at the head of the Red Sea) came to negotiate with Muḥammad, who treated him with considerable respect and gave him a gift of a cloak from Yemen.[983] They agreed that Ayla would pay a modest tribute (*jizya*) of 300 dinars annually, only a dinar per adult male, and be good hosts to Muslim travellers[984], in return for which Muḥammad would offer friendship and protection and leave them to worship as Christians without interference. The nearby fishing town of Maqnā, inhabited by Jews of Banū Janba, agreed to pay annually a quarter of their fruit (especially dates), yarn

and fish in return for similar promises, as well as being exempt from contributing to any fighting.[985] Adhruḥ and Jarbā (also Jewish[986]), 130 kilometers (80 miles) further north, agreed to pay one hundred dinars each, in return for the same assurances.[987] Unsurprisingly, Tabūk, now occupied by a huge number of warriors, also made an accord with Muḥammad.[988] He therefore forbade his warriors from taking anything as booty, even if it was given to them by the locals, a policy he strictly enforced.[989] He took the good will imbedded in alliances very seriously.

These payments were not heavy burdens for these tribes, and Muḥammad was unlikely to recoup the cost of the campaign from them, but the establishment of positive diplomatic relations with these peoples — who were not compelled to change their religions[990] — represented a significant strengthening of his position in the north. These people, whose orientation would now face south towards Medina rather than north towards the Byzantines, would also help to keep the northern caravan route open to the Muslims and would make their travel less arduous.

Aware that he faced no threats, Muḥammad felt able to send Khālid ibn al-Walīd with 420 horsemen east to Dūmat al-Jandal, a large fortified oasis town on the road from Tabūk to ‘Irāq, ostensibly to bring that distant town under Islamic control. Although it ran a successful annual market in the month of Rabī’, some of the earliest Arabic sources depict it negatively, especially al-Wāqidī, who says it was repressive to its people and to merchants and travellers. This assertion perhaps originated in a desire to make Dūmat al-Jandal seem deserving of Muḥammad’s otherwise unexplained raid in August and September 626, during which he took camels as booty.[991] Now, in a short surprise raid (which caused the death of only one person), Khālid captured the Christian ruler, the luxuriously dressed Ukaydir ibn ‘Abdul Malik al-Kindī of the ancient dynasty of Kinda, whose brother Muḍād promised Khālid a small fortune in return for his freedom, including two thousand camels, eight hundred horses, four hundred mail shirts and four hundred spears.[992] Khālid accepted the veritable treasure on Muḥammad’s behalf, but decided, based on earlier advice, that it was best to take Ukaydir (and his brother and the booty) to the Prophet, who had by then returned to Medina. Before he departed for Medina, Khālid (according to al-Wāqidī) destroyed the idols that some of the people of Dūmat al-Jandal were worshipping alongside their Christian

townsfolk.

When Khālid's party retuned to Medina, Muḥammad promptly drew up a treaty with Ukaydir, which gave him and his brother their freedom and ongoing friendship and protection, in return for the ransom already taken and an annual payment of *jizya*.[993] Muḥammad, perhaps aware that Ukaydir was said to be in the service of Heraclius[994], but more probably because he remained respectful of fellow tribal leaders, also wrapped a cloak around his shoulders as a gift and showed him considerable kindness. Again, despite Khālid having destroyed the pagan idols, there was no attempt made to impose Islam on Ukaydir and his Christian people. The sources seem muddled on what type of *bay'a* Ukaydir swore. The sources disagree on whether Ukaydir became a Muslim (and on his eventual fate).[995] Ibn Hishām merely says that Ukaydir agreed to pay *jizya*, the tax or tribute imposed only upon Christians and Jews.[996] Al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Sa'd say exactly the same thing.[997] Al-Wāqidī says that Ukaydir became a Muslim and agreed to pay *zakat*, the tax on Muslims.[998] Balādhurī seems to agree that Ukaydir became a Muslim, yet strangely adds that he agreed to pay the *jizya*, the tax for Christians and Jews.[999] It is most probable that he did not become a Muslim[1000], but agreed to pay the *jizya*, something that later *aḥādīth* seem to confirm.[1001]

In any event, Muḥammad took the *Khums* from the booty — which came to a very handsome amount: four hundred camels, 160 horses, eighty suits of mail and an equal number of spears — and distributed the rest among Khālid's raiding party.[1002] Yet the majority of the warriors on the Tabūk campaign returned to Medina utterly exhausted with nothing to show for their absence and fatigue. For them there had been no glorious fighting to bolster reputations, and, even worse, no booty. Whereas Muḥammad knew that he had achieved substantial results, they were of a diplomatic nature that his ordinary followers might not have understood or fully appreciated.

For some reason, when they returned to Medina, many Muslims began to sell their armor and weapons, with Ibn Sa'd saying that they believed armed struggle in God's cause had ended.[1003] It may instead have been because of frustration that they had exhausted themselves for what they saw as no gain. This clearly shocked Muḥammad, who stopped them from selling their arms and told them that some of his followers would always continue fighting for truth, at least until the emergence of the anti-Christ.

Indeed, although Muḥammad would personally never go out again on a raid or campaign — in terms of warlike activities, Tabūk really was his last hurrah — he continued sending out warriors, albeit far less often. He did not go himself. His life now was very different. His authority and influence were now felt everywhere in Arabia, one way or another, and delegations came in from all over the peninsula. Hosting them and creating treaties with them, or accepting their *bay‘a*, was a taxing and time-consuming role. He handled it marvelously, and demonstrated remarkable chieftain-like qualities, including profound financial generosity. This nonetheless took up so much time that year that he asked his dear friend Abū Bakr to lead the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Yet Muḥammad had aspirations for further expansion, and sent out a few more raids. With the north now in his control, he turned his eyes to the south. In June 631, he sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to the Banū Harith ibn Ka‘b, around Najrān, far south of Mecca. Some, if not all, of the Christians there had already formed an amicable relationship with Muḥammad and were paying a modest tribute. Khālid was now to call the others (perhaps the non-Christians) in the region to Islam. If they refused his call, Muḥammad said, Khālid was to wait three days before attacking and forcing them into submission (to Muḥammad’s authority, not necessarily to Islam).[1004] Khālid duly arrived in the region with four hundred warriors and sent heralds in all regions to proclaim that the people who accepted Islam would be safe. To his pleasure (and Muḥammad’s upon learning the news), they all accepted Islam. They soon sent a delegation to Muḥammad.[1005] He was frank with the delegates: “If Khālid had not written to tell me that you had accepted Islam, and that you had not resisted, I would throw your heads beneath your feet.”[1006] This might sound both coercive and seriously harsh, but it was merely warrior talk designed to impress the Banū Harith ibn Ka‘b, who were legendary fighters. Indeed, Muḥammad was keen to learn from them what made them so successful at war, which prompted their proud reply that they always won because they had cohesion and no dissention, and never acted unjustly. Muḥammad agreed with them.

In December 631, he sent out his penultimate war party, instructing ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib to go to the people of Madhḥij in Yemen with three hundred warriors in order to take Islam there (ideally, he requested, without any fighting). This was the most southern location to which he had ever sent a

war party. From the Banū al-Nakha‘, ‘Ali successfully took booty — to quote al-Wāqidī — in the form of “male captives and women and children and camels, sheep and other things”.[1007] He did so before making any call to Islam, which shows that the taking of booty was still a highly esteemed activity, understood as a reward from God. His raiding party then fought against some of the locals who rejected his call to embrace Islam. The Muslims killed twenty of those who fired arrows at his party, before the leaders, fearful of ongoing killing, nervously came forward and readily accepted Islam when ‘Ali offered it a second time. The booty was divided, with a fifth reserved as the Prophet’s *Khums*, with ‘Ali apportioning the rest and accepting the whole lot as the new Muslims’ *ṣadaqa*.[1008] He then headed back north, arriving with the booty in Mecca in March 632 in time to join Muḥammad on his final pilgrimage.[1009] The Banū al-Nakha‘ fulfilled their promises to ‘Ali and submitted themselves to Mu‘ādh ibn Jabal, the Prophet’s envoy to the southern region. A while later, they sent a delegation north to Medina to meet Muḥammad and perform their *bay‘a*, which was, in fact, the final delegation that the Prophet welcomed before he died.

The very last raiding party sent out by the ageing Prophet was a 3,000-strong force under the command of the youthful Usāma ibn Zayd. In June 632, not long after Muḥammad’s well-attended final pilgrimage to Mecca and his famous “final sermon,” by any standards a rhetorical masterpiece, he instructed Usāma to travel to Mu’ta to avenge the death of Usāma’s father Zayd ibn Ḥāritha, who was Muḥammad’s beloved adopted son. The death of Zayd, Ja‘far, and others at Mu’ta had continued to distress Muḥammad. He wanted the unhealed emotional wound to stop hurting, and he wanted to give the nineteen-year-old Usāma the honour of avenging their deaths.[1010] This appointment offended many of the older warriors, who felt passed over in favor of an inexperienced member of Muḥammad’s family. Their resentment caused an angry Muḥammad publicly in the mosque — with a bandage wrapped around his head to ease the pain of a severe headache and fever — to put his foot down.[1011] Usāma was ready, he said, and, indeed, he was suited for that mission. He demanded that all the warriors must both support and obey Usāma. He recovered enough strength the next day to hand Usāma a flag and send him and the warriors off with his strict advice, which was very similar in terms of its ethical position to the advice he had given to Zayd almost three years earlier when Zayd had

set off for Shām. Now, Muḥammad proclaimed: O Usāma, go forth and attack in the name and in the way of Allah and fight those who do not believe in Allah. Attack them, but do not be treacherous. Do not kill a child or a woman, and do not desire to meet the enemy [that is, to fight a pitched battle], because you do not know whether you will be destroyed by them, but say "Oh Allah, protect us from them, and keep their strength from us." Indeed, they will find you and wrap you in loud shouting, but may Allah allow his peace and calmness to fall upon you. Do not fight among yourselves. Do not be cowardly. But you will grow weak. Then say, "We are Your servants and they are Your servants. Our fate and their fate are in Your hands. Surely You will conquer them." And remember: Paradise is under the flash of swords.[1012]

These are the very last words on warfare that al-Wāqidī puts into the mouth of Muḥammad, whose health dramatically deteriorated until death came only days later. The Prophet died at the age of 62, having united all the disparate peoples of the Ḥijāz into a single religious community and an embryonic polity of considerable functionality and effectiveness. It is worth noting that the final military mission he wanted – Usāma's revenge attack on the people who had killed his father Zayd – was delayed while Muḥammad's political succession was being settled and stabilized. Abū Bakr became the new Leader of the Believers (*'Amīr al-Mu'minīn*), the head of the Islamic community, and despite an almost immediate rejection of him by many of the tribes and peoples who had performed their *bay'a* to Muḥammad, he wanted to honour the Prophet's wishes by sending Usāma's force into Shām. He did so, and was delighted that Usāma was able both to avenge his father by raiding the locals of Mu'ta, winning a battle, and bringing back significant booty.[1013] A good way to end this section on Muḥammad's set-piece battles might be to quote the directions that Abū Bakr had given to Usāma and his 3,000 warriors as they had headed out from Medina. They sum up what Muḥammad's closest companion, who knew the Prophet better than anyone else, understood as the most important moral lessons that Muslims should always remember when they fought in Allah's cause: O people! Stop, and I will tell you ten things. Do not be treacherous. Do not steal from the booty. Do not engage in backstabbing. Do not mutilate. Do not kill a youngster or an old man, or a woman. Do not cut off the heads of the palm-trees or burn them. Do not cut down the fruit

trees. Do not slaughter a sheep or a cow or a camel, except for food. You will pass by people [priests and monks] who devote their lives in cloisters; leave them and their devotions alone. You will come upon people who bring you all sorts of food on plates; if you eat any of it, just mention the name of Allah over it. You will meet people [monks] who have shaven the middle of the heads and have left the rest of the hair as a ring, like a turban, leave them alone [lit. tap them lightly with the sword]. So go ahead in the name of Allah. May you perish through wounds and plague. [1014]

Section 3

Muḥammad’s War with the Jews

When Muḥammad arrived in Medina on or around 4 September 622, he found himself in both an oasis and a region within the Ḥijāz which had a significant Jewish presence, unlike Mecca, which apparently had Jews, but not many.[1015] Within Medina itself, Jews were probably the majority of inhabitants. They comprised a number of Jewish tribes, subtribes and other groups, the best known of which were the Banū Qaynuqā‘, Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayẓa. North of Medina, Jews inhabited the agricultural oases of Khaybar and Fadak, and even further north, on the fringes of Shām or in Shām’s southern border belt, they inhabited Taymā’, Wādī al-Qurā, Maqnā and other settlements. Ayla, at the northern head of the Red Sea, had a mixed Christian and Jewish population.[1016] Jews took part in all areas of Arabian society. They included

settled townsfolk, who were farmers, orchardists, merchants, artisans, and so on, and also nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists. That is, some of the Bedouins were Jews.[1017] Jews also had a strong, vibrant and continuous presence in Yemen in the far south until the twentieth century, when most left to settle in the new State of Israel. Certainly, in the centuries before Islam the Yemeni Jews enjoyed significant influence, especially on the Himyarite Kingdom (115-525 CE), whose royal dynasty adopted Judaism in the late fourth century CE.[1018] At the time of Muḥammad, the Jews of Yemen and the very southern reaches of the Ḥijāz were still significant and influential peoples, even though their glory days were over and they were, like Jews elsewhere in Arabia, in a gradual decline.[1019] Those southern Jews do not feature much in Islamic accounts, however, at least compared to the Jews of

Medina and the towns to its north. We know most about these Jews, who were probably in Medina before the arrival of the Aws and the Khazraj[1020], because the Islamic sources devote considerable attention to Muḥammad's troubled relationship with them. The *Sīrah* sources devote whole chapters to the three main Jewish tribes within Medina and the people of Khaybar to the north.

Muḥammad successfully made war on all four Jewish groups: Qaynuqāʻ (in April 624), al-Naḍīr (August 625), Qurayẓa (May 627), and Khaybar (May-June 628). The earliest Arabic sources say that he besieged and expelled the first two from Medina and besieged, defeated and imposed heavy tribute on the last group. The sources say that the Qurayẓa received a unique punishment after they succumbed to his siege: the execution of adult males and the enslavement of women and children. The conflict with these four Jewish groups certainly needs to be critiqued, which is the purpose of this section, because it is the most infamous and controversial aspect of the Prophet's warfighting and it accounts for half of the major battles he fought.

Very few Islamic analyses deny or downplay the bitter dispute between Muḥammad and these four Jewish groups, and most accept that the Prophet dealt with them very firmly, so it is surprising to see that in recent decades some non-Muslim writers, mired in present-centeredness, strive to present Muḥammad almost as a pacifist — as a "Prophet of Peace," to quote the subtitle of one such book — and go to great lengths to diminish and whitewash this aspect of the Prophet's life. One such writer, Juan Cole,

extraordinarily suggests that the basic story of Muḥammad's sieges, expulsions and killings of Jews was a later invention: "The few details in the Qur'an do not support, and indeed starkly contradict, the tales of Abbasid-era biographers. It is possible that later Muslim conflicts with Jewish communities in Damascus and Baghdad have been projected back onto the early seventh-century Hejaz".[1021] It will become clear in this chapter that Cole's view is entirely unsustainable.

Understanding Medina's Disunity Muḥammad's *Hijra* has a connection to Jews about which very few Muslims today know. Three months or so before he set off for Yathrib (soon called al-Medina), he had concluded an agreement with certain citizens of that city. They had travelled south to meet with him outside Mecca at a discrete event now called the Second Pledge of al-'Aqaba. Seven of the twelve tribal leaders (نُقباء, *nuqabā'*) from the Banū Aws and the Banū Khazraj are known to have learned to read and write at the Jewish Bayt al-Midrās in Medina.[1022] This was a type of Torah school in al-Quff (a town in the north of the oasis apparently mainly inhabited by the Jewish Qaynuqā' and a Jewish clan named Māsika), near Zuhra, close to where the Prophet would establish his main mosque.[1023] This does not mean, of course, that those seven *nuqabā'* were Jews, yet their education by Jews and their closeness to them certainly might account for their strong support of Muḥammad's monotheism.

When Muḥammad arrived in what is now called Medina, he entered a large oasis of great complexity. It did not comprise a united and cohesive settlement governed by a single leader or leadership body, but, rather, it contained a loose cluster of more than a dozen villages and towns — the Arabic word *qurā* (قُرى) refers to both — dotted throughout an area of around fifty square kilometers (twenty square miles). The villages and towns were fairly close to each other, yet with each having its own tribal or sub-tribal identity and a degree of autonomy in how it wanted to run itself.

Although each belonged to a tribal unit, a tribe or subtribe might have its villages and towns scattered throughout the long and fairly flat oasis; in other words, the villages and towns of the same tribes or subtribes were not necessarily clustered together, let alone contiguously, and sometimes the villages of two or more tribes or subtribes shared the same or adjoining areas in the oasis.[1024] Clusters of villages tended to occupy spaces between orchards and other plots of cultivation and between the *awdīya* (*wādīs*, the ephemeral riverbeds) that seasonally flooded, sometimes creating strong torrents that ran through and divided sections of the oasis from each other.[1025] Thus, it is not possible to say that the oasis was clearly and cleanly demarcated into tribal areas. The five main tribal groups — the Banū Aws and the Banū Khazraj, both pagan Arab tribes, and the Banū Qaynuqā‘, Banū al-Naḍīr and Banū Qurayẓa, all three of which were Jewish Arab tribes — lived fairly mixed up, with the Banū Qurayẓa occupying the most homogenous area in the oasis’s southeastern fringe, backing onto the eastern *ḥarra*, the harsh volcanic rock bed.

That southern end — essentially the region from a half-kilometer or so south of the Prophet’s Mosque down to the volcanic rock bed south of Medina — was known as al-‘Āliya, which scholars call Upper Medina in English, where the best soils were for farming and cultivation.[1026] By contrast, the northern end, called Sāfila and known as Lower Medina, stretched from around the Prophet’s Mosque up towards the Wādī al-‘Aqīq in the northwest, and had soil of an inferior quality for cultivation. It was in this region, Sāfila, that Muḥammad settled and began to establish his base, primarily in the area between the towns of Yathrib (not to be confused with the name also given to the entire cluster of settlements) and Zuhra.[1027]

Most of the non-Jewish people of Sāfila were from the Khazraj, and, after Muḥammad moved into their midst, they would become his strongest supporters, more so than the Aws. This bond was not just a consequence of proximity. Muḥammad himself had a familial connection with the Khazraj. His grandfather ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib had been born in Yathrib as the son of Salmā, a Khazrajī woman from the Najjār subgroup. Moreover, just before the *Hijra* and probably with his approaching move in mind, Muḥammad married Sawda bint Zama‘a ibn Qays, whose mother was al-Shamūs bint Qays, a Najjārī and a relative of that very same Salmā.[1028] When Muḥammad reached Sāfila, he therefore settled among the Najjārīs, with

whom he was kin.

Saying that al-‘Āliya and Sāfila were perceived as completely detached in societal terms would be an overstatement, but it is certainly true that people were well aware of their significant social and economic distinctions and saw the oasis as possessing two adjoining but different regions, rather than being a united whole. For example, when Muḥammad marched out on the raid that provoked the Battle of Badr in March 624, he appointed two members of the *Anṣār* to be in charge of the believers left in Medina: Abū Lubāba ibn ‘Abd al-Mundhir over those in Sāfila, and ‘Āṣim ibn ‘Adī over those in al-‘Āliya (meaning the Muslims in Qubā’).[1029] Then, when he realized that he had won a stunning victory, he excitedly sent two fast riders to Medina to give them the good news, with Zayd ibn Ḥāritha going to Sāfila and ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥa going to al-‘Āliya (meaning to Qubā’).[1030] Similarly, during the Battle of the Trench in April 627, Muḥammad allowed warriors whose families were in al-‘Āliya to send patrols there, because he feared being attacked there by the Banū Qurayẓa, and he gave them instructions on which safe routes they should take in order to re-enter “Medina,” meaning Sāfila.[1031]

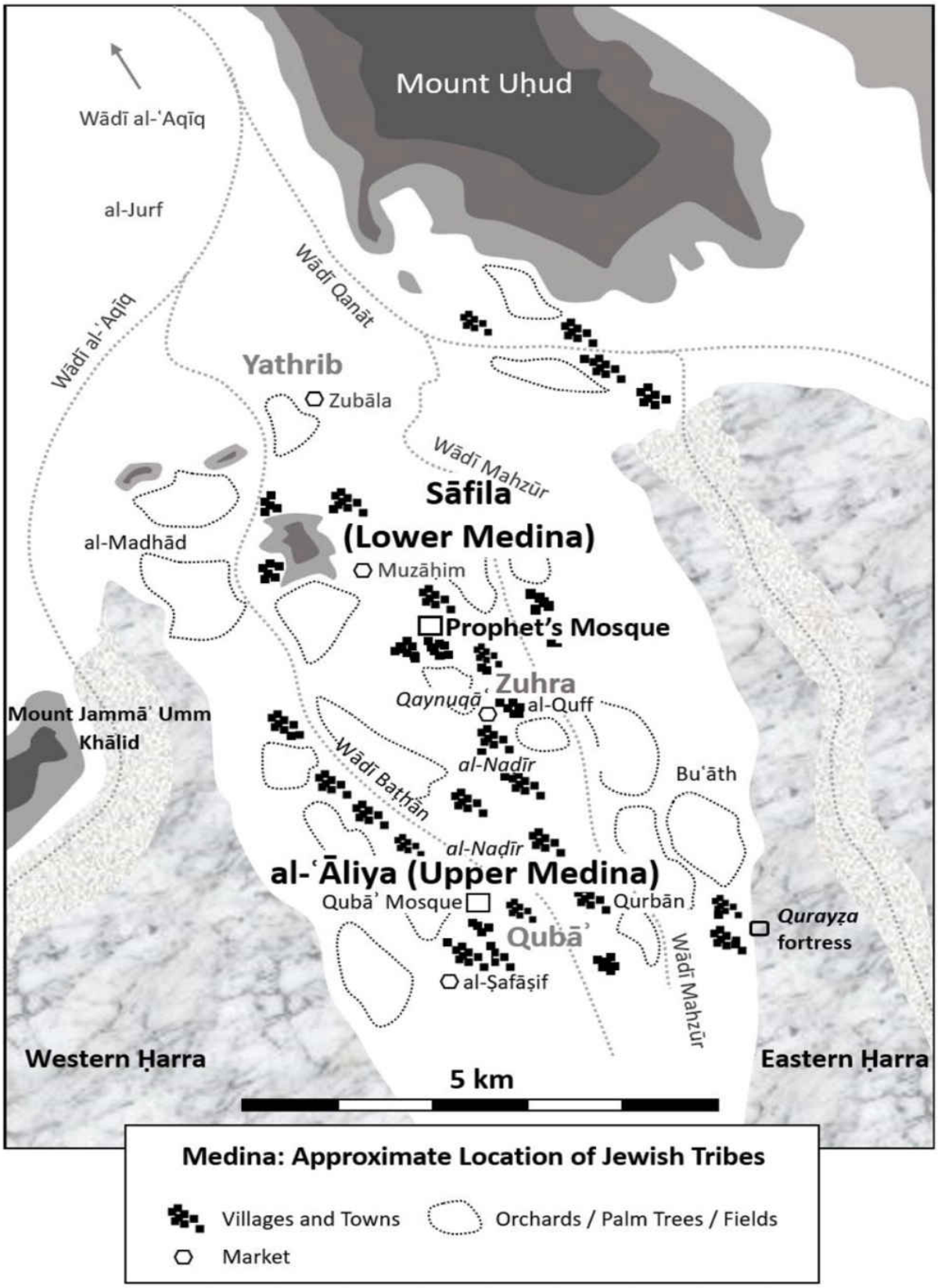

Figure 12. Medina: Approximate Location of Jewish Tribes

The origins of the three main Jewish tribes in Medina have received considerable attention from scholars, with a range of claims put forward, none of them entirely verifiable. Some maintain that they were ethnically (that is, biologically) descended from ancient Hebrews who had made their way south, or were Jews whom the Romans exiled from Judea after either the First Jewish-Roman War (66-73 CE) or the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136 CE). Others say that they were actually more recent proselytes from non-Jewish Arab tribes who encountered Judaism elsewhere and adopted it in place of pagan religious views; that is, they were Arabs who had converted to Judaism.[1032] The tribes themselves, especially al-Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa, the two most powerful of Medina's Jewish tribes, believed, or at least wanted others to believe, that they were Jews by blood and not by conversion. They promoted a sophisticated backstory that they were the descendants of al-Kāhin, son of Moses' brother Aaron.[1033] According to claims left in the Islamic record by the descendants of the Qurayẓa, the Kāhinān, the priestly tribes, as the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa were called even before the advent of Islam, had arrived in Medina as part of a second wave of Hebrews, the first involving the Banū Isrā'īl, from the time of Moses.[1034] Yet the balance of evidence, including their naming habits, tips in favor of the three tribes being Arabs who had adopted Judaism at some unknown time, although, as noted, the known sources only allow for conjecture.

In any event, the earliest Islamic *Sīrah* sources do not cast Jews as being in any way racially or morally inferior to others around them. Ibn Hishām seems to bestow upon them a cultural sophistication exceeding that of Medina's two main non-Jewish tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj: "Allah had prepared the way for Islam in that they [Aws and Khazraj] lived side by side with the Jews, who were people of the scriptures and wisdom, while they themselves were polytheists and idolators."[1035] Ibn Hishām adds that the Aws and the Khazraj often raided the Jewish villages and towns in the oasis, prompting the Jews to build fortresses and to look forward to the advent of a prophet who would protect and avenge them.

This should not be read as evidence that the Jews were weak. On the contrary, the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa had considerable power and influence in Medina by the time that Muḥammad arrived, with the Qaynuqā' being less influential. Indeed, these three tribes and other Jewish groups made up

the majority of Medina's inhabitants and seem to have possessed the most wealth and power.

The Islamic tradition attributes to the two non-Jewish tribes, the Aws and the Khazraj, a strange and ongoing enmity that supposedly prompted them to invite Muḥammad to Medina as an arbiter. Certainly, they had recently fought a war, culminating in the Battle of Bu'āth in 617 CE, after which an uneasy truce had existed. Even under Islam, their enmity never really went away. Ibn Hishām notes that even before the Prophet had arrived in Medina, Muslims of the Aws and the Khazraj "detested it when someone from the rival tribe led them in prayer".[1036] Their rivalry and disunity would remain a problem, and cause Muḥammad considerable frustration in the coming years. At one point he even had to separate quarreling groups of Aws and Khazraj and admonish them for the pettiness of the enmity: "Will you act like in the Days of Ignorance while I am now with you after Allah has guided you to Islam and thereby honoured you and made a clean break from Ignorance; has delivered you from unbelief, and made you friends to each other?"[1037]

Although one might assume the existence of Jewish solidarity, the Jewish tribes in the oasis were equally disunited. They had taken opposite sides in the recent war between the Aws and the Khazraj, showing that they did not see their religion as a unifying factor, any more than pagans or Christian tribes and clans had. The so-called Kāhinān, the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa, along with Bedouins of the Banū Muzayna, sided with the Aws, helping them to defeat the Khazraj, who were supported by the Qaynuqā' and Bedouins from the Juhayna and Ashja'.[1038] Complex alliances were still in place when Muḥammad arrived, and would in fact result in different consequences when he chose to act upon each Jewish tribe in coming years.

It is testament to Muḥammad's ability to consolidate power at a staggering rate that he was able so quickly after arriving as a powerless exile not only to gain leadership of many of the Aws and Khazraj, but also to vanquish the three Jewish tribes and to do so without causing allies to rush to their defence. When he arrived, he was not given leadership of Medina, as many Muslims believe, and was not even a *primus inter pares* in terms of the oasis' many leaders. Indeed, he had promised the tribal leaders who had struck a deal with him at the Second Pledge of al-'Aqaba: "You will retain responsibility for your own peoples … and I will retain

responsibility for mine; that is, for the Muslims."[1039] Yet he swiftly made the most of the opportunity presented to him and steadily assumed responsibility for more and more of the greater Medina oasis, becoming the city's most powerful leader within three years and the only leader who actually mattered within five years.

The Jews were unquestionably more powerful in Medina than the Aws and the Khazraj. Al-Wāqidī calls the Jews of Medina "the owners [literally the people] of weapons and fortresses," ("أَهل الحَلْقَة والحُصون") which is an accurate reflection of their strength.[1040] That they were well armed is clear from the number of weapons taken from the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa after they succumbed to Muḥammad's sieges. From the Naḍīr, Muḥammad took a modest amount: fifty chain mail coats, fifty helmets and 340 swords, which suggests, as al-Wāqidī implies, that the Naḍīr hid most weapons and took them away into exile. The Qurayẓa, whose men were executed instead of exiled, were unable to hide or remove weapons. Muḥammad gained a huge amount: three hundred chain mail coats, 1,500 swords, 1,000 spears, and 1,500 shields.[1041]

While nearly all the non-Jewish and Jewish towns within the oasis had one or more "fortresses," most of these were *āṭām* (*uṭum*, singular), which were essentially dual-purpose large mudbrick house-like structures with thicker and higher walls, flat roofs, stout doors, and narrower and fewer ground-level windows. They offered more protection than other family houses, but they were neither large nor capable enough to sustain strong and lengthy sieges.[1042] Yet the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa, and two non-Jewish groups (of the Aws Allāh, a subdivision of the Aws), also had impressive *ḥuṣūn* (*ḥiṣn*, singular). These *ḥuṣūn* were very strong buildings (with stone foundations and stone lower levels, and unbreachable gates) in the eastern part of al-'Āliya district. With walls possibly up to 14 meters in height[1043], they were designed solely as military fortresses to protect all the people of a town or village if subjected to attack or a fearsome threat.[1044] Presumably they had large well-stocked storerooms and water cisterns.

Al-Wāqidī indirectly reveals, however, that their *ḥuṣūn* did not have their own internal sources of fresh water. When Wabr ibn 'Ulaym of the Banū Sa'd later heard that Muḥammad had defeated the three Jewish tribes in Medina (described to him as "the people of the fortresses in Yathrib") and

was now marching upon the Jews of Khaybar, he was unimpressed. Al-Wāqidī quotes Wabr as saying: “Do not be scared of that. Indeed, in Khaybar are men and impenetrable fortresses, which have a constant source of water.”[1045] This is implicit evidence that the Jews’ *ḥuṣūn* in Medina may have had cisterns but did not have internal and protected water sources. The importance of this will soon become clear.

Thus, when Muḥammad first moved to the large oasis now called Medina, he came into a situation of significant disunity, which helped to facilitate his desire to create a meaningful and powerful leadership role for himself, something a cohesive Medina might have rendered far more difficult. He established himself and his initially very small community in the south of Sāfila, Lower Mecca, and quickly began to expand his control of that region. Yet that area remained small. Harry Munt calculates that the Islamic town centered on the Prophet’s Mosque “extended less than half a mile [less than a kilometer] in each direction” from the mosque.[1046] It was also several kilometers north of (and outside) the autonomous and distinct region of al-‘Āliya where the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa were both societally dominant and, along with the Aws Allāh, strongly fortified. For several years, Muḥammad’s influence in that region — the southeastern ‘Āliya — was negligible, and the Aws Allāh who lived there, closely connected to the Jews next to whom they lived, were very slow to convert, with some Aws Allāh groups only finally converting after the Battle of the Trench in April 627; that is, almost five years after the Prophet’s arrival.[1047]

This may have reduced opportunities for any natural and unforced two-way cultural diffusion, but it also allowed Muḥammad to grow his community in Lower Medina without daily confrontations with the most powerful entities in the oasis. That does not mean that Muḥammad did not meet and engage with Jews. The Banū Qaynuqā‘’s settlements were close to where Muḥammad established his main mosque. The Qaynuqā‘ lived alongside the Jewish Māsika clan in Zuhra, a town near to the mosque that was presumably renamed after the Qaynuqā‘’s expulsion and thus became lost to history as a recognizable location. The Qaynuqā‘ ran an eponymous, large and famous market quite close to the mosque, which became a fair several times per year, featuring poetic recitations.[1048] And in al-Quff they ran a school, the aforementioned Bayt al-Midrās, which was Medina’s only recorded source of literacy. Islamic sources mention Muḥammad

occasionally discussing religious issues with Jews in that school.[1049] The Qaynuqā‘ owned no orchards, fields, or pastures, and gained their income as merchants, market traders, and craftsmen, with goldsmithing being a significant activity. The Banū Qaynuqā‘’s close proximity to the Muslim community and its main mosque, where Muḥammad also lived, certainly meant that the Prophet dealt more often with the Qaynuqā‘’s leaders and rabbis than with those of the Naḍīr and the Qurayẓa. While al-Naḍīr had orchards spread all over the oasis, the bulk of its population and its strongest fortresses were far to the south. All this perhaps explains why, when Muḥammad came to feel antagonized by the Jews’ sometimes rude and mocking disregard of his religious efforts to draw close to them, which seems to have firmed into an explicit rejection of his claims of prophethood within perhaps a year or eighteen months, the Qaynuqā‘ were the first to find themselves forcefully confronted by the Muslims.

Early Relations with the Jews Confrontation had clearly not been Muḥammad’s desire when he arrived. He had moved from Mecca, where the majority of people appear to have been polytheists of various types, to Medina, where there were also polytheists and pagans (the Aws and the Khazraj), but where most people (the Jews) were strict monotheists like him. It would be natural to anticipate good relations. After all, Arabian Jews did not have a bad reputation. They were seen as steadfast in their faith, skilled, literate, knowledgeable, and as people whose word could be trusted.[1050] Ibn Hishām says that the Jews likewise initially felt optimistic about Muḥammad’s presence, and hoped that he might help them in their difficult relationship with the Aws and the Khazraj.[1051]

As a merchant for decades before he devoted himself full-time to his prophethood, Muḥammad would have encountered Jews along caravan routes both north and south of Mecca, and there were Jews in and around Ṭā’if, Mecca’s nearby trade partner, these being people expelled from Yemen and Yathrib (as we will see, exiling Jews from Medina had also occurred before Muḥammad’s arrival there).[1052] Even after he was able to do

so, Muḥammad never uprooted these Jews, and they were still in Ṭā'if generations later, when the Amīr of the Believers Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān bought some of his orchards from them.[1053]

Despite some differences in detail and emphasis, Muḥammad's knowledge of the biblical prophets was deep and thorough, although, of course, Muslims would argue that he gained this knowledge of them directly from God rather than by spending time in discussions with Jews while travelling. Either way, he was clearly confident when he arrived in Medina that he would find Jews receptive to his monotheism, rejection of polytheism and the Christian trinity, and emphasis on piety and charity.

His efforts to draw them close included orienting the direction of communal prayers towards Jerusalem, thereby creating consistency with the Jews.[1054] Al-Samhūdī narrates that al-Ṭabarāni and others quote Muḥammad's cousin Ibn 'Abbās as having said: "When the Messenger of Allah emigrated to Medina, and the Jews who were then the majority of its inhabitants prayed towards Jerusalem [lit. Bayt al-Maqdis], Allah enjoined him also to turn to Jerusalem in prayer, which pleased the Jews."[1055] According to *aḥādīth*, Muḥammad also observed upon his arrival in Medina that the Jews fasted on the Day of Atonement, so he ordered his followers to do likewise, creating the annual fast of 'Āshūrā' on the tenth day of Muḥarram, the first month in the Islamic lunar calendar. For example, a *ḥadīth* in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* says: When the Prophet s arrived in Medina, the Jews were observing the fast on 'Āshūrā' and they said, "This is the day when Moses became victorious over the Pharaoh." On hearing that, the Prophet s said to his companions, "You [Muslims] have more right to celebrate Moses' victory than they have, so fast [also]."[1056]

It should be noted that a smaller number of *aḥādīth* say that the Quraysh had undertaken the 'Āshūrā' fast in the years before Muḥammad's *Hijra*, and that he had learned it in Mecca.[1057] The high unlikelihood of this has not been lost on some scholars, who believe that those *aḥādīth* were introduced to obfuscate the Jewish origin of 'Āshūrā'.[1058] This book takes no position on their claim, and steers away from attempting to present or critique the *Fiqh*. Yet it is worth noting that a move like adopting 'Āshūrā' to draw closer to the Jews, the only other true monotheists that Muḥammad experienced firsthand, would have been consistent with his conciliatory and inclusive attitude in the first happy period after the *Hijra*.

That does not mean, of course, that Muḥammad believed his followers should merely copy the things that they observed the Jews doing. He did not emulate their strict observance of the Sabbath (although he believed that God required it of the Jews[1059]), mainly, it seems, because the implication that God had rested on the seventh day implied that God had grown tired, something Muḥammad could not accept. He did not like his people swaying or rocking like the Jews while praying, closing their eyes, or extending their hands above shoulder height, let alone to the heavens.[1060] He also chose a means of calling people to prayer that was different to the method the Jews used. He chose the human voice rather than a ram's horn, but this decision had a practical rather than a prejudicial origin; if both communities used a ram's horn, how would they distinguish which community was being summoned?

Muḥammad understood that Judaism involved a strict body of Mosaic laws bestowed upon Jews by God, which God had not identically bestowed on any other peoples, including the Arabs, who were, he believed, the descents of Abraham's son Ishmael. God had also made promises to the Arabs which were naturally different to those made to the Jews. He was not, therefore, trying to create a hybridized religion, to which he thought both Jews and Muslims should adhere. Jews should follow the Law of Moses and the other teachings in their scriptures, while the Muslims should follow the code that he, a prophet like his brother Moses, was teaching them. Yet he never doubted that the Jews in Medina were fellow believers (مُؤمنون, *mum'inūn*), and never questioned that their God was the very same Great Intelligence that had called him to prophethood.

This last point, however, seems to have been a sore point between Muḥammad and the Jewish rabbis and communal authorities, who believed and told him that, with respect, their scriptures were clear that prophethood was reserved for members of the Children of Israel. Proud of their literacy, and God's granting of a written sacred scripture, they also reasoned that an unlearned man (Muḥammad was probably illiterate) could not be counted as a religious authority, much less as a prophet. The earliest extant *Sīrah* sources contain lengthy supposedly verbatim exchanges between Muḥammad and Jewish leaders. While it is impossible to accept the narrative accounts as actual word-for-word records, the recorded tone

shows that, despite quite a positive and congenial start to their relationship, a gradual mutual hardening of positions occurred.

That does not mean that either side wanted disruption, disharmony or other problems, and it is very clear that, in the first months after the *Hijra*, Muḥammad and the Jews enjoyed something of a honeymoon period. Ibn Hishām reveals that the Jews actually permitted Muḥammad to participate in various community activities. For example, they invited him to pass sentence on an adulterous Jewish couple[1061], they asked him to adjudicate a major issue pertaining to blood money (he raised the value of the blood money of the Qurayẓa to equal that of al-Naḍīr[1062]), and the rabbis harmoniously engaged with him in theological discussions.

It is also evident that Muḥammad and the three main Jewish tribes (the Qaynuqā‘, al-Naḍīr and Qurayẓa) negotiated treaties or agreements of some kind. Many scholars assume that these formed what they have far too grandly called “the Constitution of Medina,” and which the author of the book which kicked off recent interest in it named “the first written constitution in the world.”[1063] This document was a written agreement between Muḥammad and “the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Yathrib” (here meaning the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*); with a few clauses pertaining to some of the Jews in Medina. According to the text of the document found in Ibn Hishām, Muḥammad now saw these groups as “a single community to the exclusion of other people” (إنهم أُمة واحدة من دون الناس).[1064] No original copy exists, but its wording was preserved in two much later books: Ibn Hishām’s recension of Ibn Isḥāq’s book of *Sīrah* and Abū ‘Ubayd’s *Kitāb al-Amwāl*. The consensus of scholars, both Islamic and non-Islamic, is that the document is probably an authentic record, but its dating, purpose, meaning, and even tribal inclusion is contested.

It has become fashionable to portray this agreement as a type of nation-state constitution, which is patently anachronistic to the point of absurdity. It was at most a tri-partisan non-aggression agreement between tribes in a geographically close and stateless context which also established Muḥammad as the mediating authority when disputes arose, and set out some basic rights and responsibilities for each of the parties, including in terms of the blood money to be paid for deliberate or careless killing. We cannot be sure if it was ever a single document and whether it was actually

negotiated and approved, let alone signed, by the named parties.[1065] It has become fashionable to portray the document (which modestly calls itself a "kitab," a book or document) as a model of democracy, tolerance, inclusion and religious freedom, which is clearly anachronistic and going too far (it does not, for example, uphold the religious freedom of idol-worshippers and polytheists).[1066] Yet any fair reading will reveal that its intent was peaceful, cooperative, and conciliatory, and that it preserved the status quo in terms of the included Jews' long-enjoyed religious freedom.

It seems probable, given its purported origin in the first year after the *Hijra*, that this document did not actually include the three major Jewish tribes, who are not named in it either as composite or constituent groups (that is, as tribes or subtribes).[1067] It actually names other smaller and less powerful Jewish groups, such as "the Jewish Banū Tha'laba," meaning the Tha'laba ibn al-Fiṭyawn from the town of Zuhra in Lower Medina, near to the Prophet's Mosque.[1068] Moreover, the document purports to create a cohesion and unity that, if we were to say it included the three main Jewish tribes, was in no way possible to achieve in that first year after the *Hijra*. And it certainly implies that Muḥammad had far more influence and power than he actually then had. It is probable, therefore, that the so-called constitution more modestly established a type of structured unity between the two groups of Muslims — the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār* — but also included those Jews who had by then seen merit in drawing close to the Prophet. This conclusion in no way diminishes its great importance. In a highly original and intelligent fashion, the document created the basis of a community that went beyond traditional tribal constraints. Indeed, Muḥammad had created the basis of a unified community that was far greater than the sum of its parts.

The evidence that Muḥammad also negotiated simple two-way non-aggression agreements (عُهُود, *'uḥūd*, plural of *'aḥd*) with each of the three major Jewish tribes is much stronger, with Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī both mentioning them.[1069] A copy of each was kept by Muḥammad and by a leader of the relevant tribe; for the Qaynuqā' its "owner" was the warmly-disposed Mukhayrīq, for the Naḍīr it was Ḥuyayy ibn Akḥṭab, and for the Qurayẓa, Ka'b ibn Asad.[1070] The original copies of each were lost to history, and the wording purportedly recalled by al-Ṭabrisī reads like a retrospective

exculpation of what happened to the Qurayẓa.[1071] But these straightforward agreements' basic context and content are clear. The agreements were negotiated individually, although probably at around the same time; that is, shortly after the *Hijra*, when Muḥammad was not yet especially powerful. He was not seeking through these agreements to modify the Jews' religion in any way; only to secure from each tribe an agreement of *'amān*, security; that is, a pledge that they would do no harm to his community or side with anyone else who wanted to harm it.[1072] Muḥammad made reciprocal promises. Al-Ṭabrisī seems to suggest that the Jewish tribes themselves initiated this, wanting a *hudna*, or truce, without the requirement of any religious obligations.[1073] Regardless, the establishment of an Islamic community based on the rather sophisticated so-called constitution, which bound together the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, and the creation of comparatively rudimentary non-aggression agreements with each of the three major Jewish tribes, placed Muḥammad in a very good position in Medina.

Banū Qaynuqā'

Something clearly went wrong, however, because in April 624, less than two years after the *Hijra*, Muḥammad ordered the assassination of two Jews in Upper Medina — 'Aṣma bint Marwān of Banū Umayya ibn Zayd (of the Aws Allāh) and Abū 'Afak of the Banū 'Amr ibn 'Awf [1074] — before launching a swift and severe siege of the Banū Qaynuqā', which reportedly resulted in the tribe's exile from Medina. The two poets, the first a woman and the second an elderly man, had composed satirical poetry against Muḥammad, but especially against the tribes in Medina which had chosen to ally themselves with him, thus making them appear to be weak and easily led. Seeing the potential for societal incohesion, Muḥammad had then asked his followers, "who will rid me of this person?" prompting converted relatives of the victims to carry out the nighttime executions.[1075] As noted above, this may seem harsh to readers today, but it was probably not extraordinary in the far more brutal seventh century, where poets were almost uniquely able to sway popular opinion about people and events. It should be added that the Jewishness of the poets were not a motivating factor. They were killed because they harshly propagandized, not because they were Jews. Muḥammad never singled out groups based on what we

might call racial prejudice. Had the two poets been Christians, Zoroastrians, or idol-worshippers, they would have experienced the same fate.

It was the same with the conquest and expulsion of the Qaynuqā‘. Muḥammad clearly ordered this, but not for any reason of racial prejudice. The explanations given by the earliest extant sources are unfortunately contradictory and not very helpful. Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, and Ibn Sa‘d all merely say that the Qaynuqā‘ “violated their agreement” with Muḥammad, without describing and explaining the violation.[1076] Ibn Hishām curiously says that “the Banū Qaynuqā‘ were the first of the Jews to break their agreement *and to go to war*, between [the times of] Badr and Uḥud”(“أن بني قينتقاع كانوا أول يهود نقضوا ما بينهم وبين رسول الله s، وحاربوا فيما بين بدر وأحد”).[1077] Yet he mentions no misbehavior at all that could be understood as a breach of the agreement, let alone as an act of offensive warfare. Ibn Sa‘d says that the Qaynuqā‘, who were “the bravest of the Jews, and were goldsmiths,” violated the agreement by showing “envy” (الحسَد, *ḥasad*), but does not say what grave misconduct their envy led to. Al-Ṭabarī follows Ibn Sa‘d, alleging “envy,” but does not elaborate.[1078] Following Ibn Hishām, al-Ṭabarī also makes the same claim that “the Banū Qaynuqā‘ were the first of the Jews to break their agreement and to go to war, between Badr and Uḥud,” but offers no evidence or explanation whatsoever.[1079] Put simply, none of the early writers allege that the Qaynuqā‘ colluded with an enemy or acted treacherously.

Perhaps aware that a lack of explanation presents a problem, al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa‘d or al-Ṭabarī) tells the strange and seemingly contrived story of a non-Jewish Bedouin woman (married to one of the *Anṣār*).[1080] In the Qaynuqā‘ market she was, al-Wāqidī says, humiliated while sitting with a goldsmith discussing a trinket, when a member of the Qaynuqā‘ pinned the hem of her dress in such a way that, when she stood, her private parts were exposed.[1081] This caused an offended Muslim to kill that man, which then led to his death by angry members of the Qaynuqā‘. This, al-Wāqidī implausibly suggests, constituted the Qaynuqā‘’s violation of their agreement with Muḥammad.

We cannot accept this as the cause of a non-belligerent tribe’s defeat and expulsion, given how petty and outrageously disproportionate (and therefore unjust) that would have made the judgment of Muḥammad, who

was in fact a deeply judicious man who intimately understood the complex nature of the tribal system. According to customary law, the matter was over. Blood for blood had been shed, and if anyone said it had not been and there was an outstanding grievance, Muḥammad would have restored harmony by pursuing a payment or a punishment proportionately fitting the grievance. However protective Muḥammad was of the dignity of women, he certainly would not have treated the misconduct of one man of the Qaynuqā‘ as a communal tribal action or decision that warranted a collective punishment against the entire tribe. It simply makes no sense; nor does its uncritical acceptance as an explanation by many writers, including Muhammad Hamidullah, who says that the “reason for the war [was] dishonoring shamefully a Muslim lady”.[1082]

The sources also mention a mutually antagonistic exchange between Muḥammad and members of the Qaynuqā‘ that occurred soon after he arrived in Medina after having defeated the Quraysh at Badr. Al-Wāqidī asserts that the Prophet ordered the Qaynuqā‘ to gather in their market, where he demanded that they accept Islam or suffer the same fate as the Quraysh had (lit. “before Allah inflicts upon you what He inflicted on the Quraysh”).[1083] The Qaynuqā‘ then reportedly replied with defiance: “O Muḥammad, do not be deceived by those whom you met [in battle]. Surely, you met a people inexperienced at warfare. But we are, by Allah, masters of war, and if you fight us, you will learn that you have never fought anyone like us before.” Reflecting what the Qaynuqā‘ see as the bizarre situation of someone from outside their tribe giving them orders, as though he was their chief, Ibn Hishām relates that the Qaynuqā‘, in rejecting the Prophet’s demand, declared, “O Muḥammad, you seem to think that we are *your* people!”[1084]

It is also hard to treat this story as credible, because it shows a boastful Prophet trying to impose Islam by force on a quarrelsome but non-belligerent and already monotheistic people. Not only would this be un-prophetlike conduct, but it creates the philosophical problem of an attempt at coerced conversion, something that flies in the face of the foundational Islamic dictum: “There is no compulsion in religion” (“لاَ إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ”).[1085] This verse in the Qur’ān underpins the entire nature of the Islamic revelation: that Allah seeks the voluntary, uncoerced submission of

the self and rejects as immoral anyone's imposition of that submission upon unwilling people. Perhaps this, in addition to a weak chain of narrators, helps to explain the fact that the only *ḥadīth* that reproduces this exchange is considered "weak" (ضعيف, ḍa'īf).[1086]

Thus, establishing the reason for the Muslims' attack on the Qaynuqā' is not a straightforward matter. It is evident that a serious tension between the Muslims and the Qaynuqā' had steadily developed, culminating in Muḥammad's highly resonant decision to change the direction of prayer from Jerusalem to Mecca two months before the Battle of Badr (and three before the showdown with the Qaynuqā').[1087] Co-existing in close proximity, yet as dissimilar communities with greatly different degrees of wealth and development, must have created unpleasant societal dynamics. We find traces on this in various works of *Sīrah* and exegesis. For example, at one point in the first year or so after the *Hijra*, Muḥammad sent Abū Bakr to call upon the Qaynuqā' in their Bayt al-Midrās, their Torah school, in order to call them towards Islam, encourage charity, and see whether they would grant him a loan. When Abū Bakr invited Finḥāṣ ibn 'Āzūrā' to Islam and asked the Qaynuqā' leader to extend Muḥammad a loan, Finḥāṣ mockingly replied: "By Allah, we are not so lacking that we need Allah, but rather, He needs us! If Allah did not need us, He would not be asking for a loan."[1088] This was too much even for the ordinarily unflappable Abū Bakr, who struck Finḥāṣ in the face and told him, "By Allah, if we did not have an agreement, I would strike at your neck [that is, cut off your head]". Finḥāṣ immediately went and complained to Muḥammad, who was unimpressed by Abū Bakr's loss of control until he heard and disbelieved Finḥāṣ' denial that he had mocked God. Muḥammad then received a revelation that shows where he stood on the matter: لَّقَدْ سَمِعَ اللّهُ قَوْلَ الَّذِينَ قَالُواْ إِنَّ اللّهَ فَقِيرٌ وَنَحْنُ أَغْنِيَاء سَنَكْتُبُ مَا قَالُواْ وَقَتْلَهُمُ الأَنبِيَاءَ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ وَنَقُولُ ذُوقُواْ عَذَابَ الْحَرِيقِ

> Allah has certainly heard the sayings of those who said: "Indeed, Allah is poor while we are rich." We will record what they said, and how they killed the prophets unjustly, and we will say: taste the punishment of the fire.[1089]

Theological or doctrinal differences were impossible to reconcile. Put simply, few of the Qaynuqā' saw Muḥammad as a prophet and even fewer

chose to follow him. He was not a Jew and, in any event, even if he was an Arab prophet for the Arabian people, but from outside Judaism, they seriously doubted that he could be regarded as a prophet in the same broad lineage as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and so on. Despite Muḥammad's repeated assertion that he had been foreseen and mentioned in the Torah, they said that he had not, a rebuttal that clearly bothered him as well as later writers of the *Sīrah*. The Qur'ān weighs in on this issue, stating that the Jews had falsified parts of their book, presumably meaning that, among other changes, they had excised any references in the Torah to Muḥammad's coming.[1090] And yes, Muḥammad was a monotheist, which was encouraging, and not a trinitarian, but he saw Jesus not only as a prophet but also as the Messiah, something that they, like all Jews, strenuously rejected.[1091] Ibn Hishām vividly captures the tension: During this time the Jewish rabbis showed hostility to the Messenger s through envy, hatred and malice, because Allah had chosen His Messenger s from the Arabs. They were joined by men from the Aws and the Khazraj who had clung stubbornly to their pagan religion. … It was the Jewish rabbis who used to aggravate the Messenger s with questions and introduce confusion, so as to mix up truth and falsehood. … The first hundred verses of *Sūrah al-Baqarah* came down in reference to those Jewish rabbis and the hypocrites of the Aws and the Khazraj.[1092]

Perhaps this insuperable tension is the best explanation for why Muḥammad fought and reportedly exiled the Qaynuqā' immediately after returning from the Battle of Badr. Unlike the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa, who were located several kilometers to the south, in the semi-separate al-'Āliya, well away from the Muslim area around the main mosque, the Qaynuqā' were situated right next to, and around, the Muslim area. Their stubborn rejection of Muḥammad's prophethood and their mocking and insulting public comments, and his insistence that he was a prophet that they should not ignore, were fueling societal tensions not only between Muslims and Jews, but also between Muslim and non-Muslim members of the Aws and the Khazraj. Ibn Hishām observes that these tensions had become so bad that there were regular scuffles and fights, not only in the market, but even in the Prophet's Mosque.[1093] To Muḥammad — as it would be to any leader committed to societal cohesion — this was an entirely untenable situation. It had to be rectified.

After returning from the victory at Badr, Muḥammad knew that his men were full of both martial zeal and a strong belief that Allah was blessing them for being on the right path. It was an ideal time to send them in strength against another foe. Yet he had an agreement with the Qaynuqā‘, so how could he justify attacking them militarily when they had not attacked or threatened the Muslims militarily? The answer came in a Qur’ānic revelation (*Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:58) revealed at this time[1094]: وَإِمَّا تَخَافَنَّ مِن قَوْمٍ خِيَانَةً فَانبِذْ إِلَيْهِمْ عَلَى سَوَاء إِنَّ اللّهَ لاَ يُحِبُّ الخَائِنِينَ

> 58. And if you fear treachery from a people, throw it back upon them in equal measure. Indeed, Allah does not love the treacherous.

Ibn Sa‘d actually says that the Qaynuqā‘ were “the bravest of the Jews,” and that Muḥammad had admitted: “I fear the Banū Qaynuqā‘ (“أنا أخاف بني قينقاع”),” presumably meaning that he feared that they might actually at some point attack the Muslims. Yet, after this verse came down, he decided that he had to “march against them,” a curious phrase considering they were essentially next-door neighbors.[1095] Ibn Sa‘d got this confession of fear from al-Wāqidī, who had mentioned it in passing after having favored the far less plausible explanations for the siege mentioned above.[1096]

The sources do not tell us how many warriors Muḥammad used in his “siege” of the Qaynuqā‘, nor precisely where the siege took place. The Qaynuqā‘ lived in ordinary houses in Lower Medina and the area between the Prophet’s Mosque and the market and probably hurriedly barricaded themselves within their *āṭām*; their “fortresses”. These were not the massive and impregnable *ḥuṣūn* that the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa had in al-‘Āliya. Those could fairly be described as castles. Rather, the Qaynuqā‘’s fortresses were really little more than extra-strong dual-purpose dwellings, where people could gain temporary respite from marauders. They could not withstand a powerful attack, let alone a prolonged siege from a force whose own houses and supplies were close by.

Essentially the siege consisted of Muḥammad’s men encircling the Qaynuqā‘’s strongholds, preventing anyone getting in or out, while they waited for the Qaynuqā‘’s food and water to run out. Al-Wāqidī says that the Qaynuqā‘ remained inside “and did not shoot an arrow or do any fighting”.[1097] It is actually surprising that they held out for fifteen days, but they managed to do so (apparently with no causalities on either side) before

surrendering unconditionally.[1098]

This is where the earliest extant sources again become problematical. Al-Wāqidī and his student Ibn Sa‘d (who drew upon different earlier chains of narrators to those used by Ibn Isḥāq / Ibn Hishām) say that the Qaynuqā‘ asked for permission, upon surrendering, to leave Medina, but that Muḥammad had them tied up instead, and intended to execute them.[1099] The only thing that prevented Muḥammad from slaughtering them was the aggressive intervention of ‘Abdullāh Ibn Ubayy, who was at that early stage probably still the strongest leader in Medina, or at least, as the leading man of the Khazraj, a leader to rival Muḥammad. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d claim that Ibn Ubayy physically took hold of Muḥammad and demanded that he not kill his allies, the Qaynuqā‘. Muḥammad angrily demanded to be released, but Ibn Ubayy refused: “I will not release you until you promise to deal kindly with my clients. Four hundred men in chain mail and three hundred without mail protected me from my enemies on the Day of Hadā’iq and the Day of Bu‘ath, and you desire to kill them in one morning?”[1100] The Prophet then reportedly exclaimed to his men, “Set them free, and may Allah curse them and curse him [Ibn Ubayy] as well.” Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d, but neither Ibn Hishām nor al-Ṭabarī, then say that Muḥammad commanded that, rather than be killed as he had first intended, the Qaynuqā‘ would be exiled from Medina.[1101]

The passages in al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa‘d should not be seen as entirely factual. Their purpose was obviously to besmirch Ibn Ubayy, seen as the Chief of the Hypocrites, which is perfectly understandable for the Muslim chroniclers, but in depicting Ibn Ubayy as being so forcefully oppositional to Muḥammad — thwarting his plan to execute the tribe in cold blood (meaning the men, with the women and children being enslaved) — they inadvertently present the Prophet as gratuitously and disproportionately violent. Wanting to kill all the men of a tribe which had not explicitly committed a major offense against the tribal system, such as a treaty or agreement partner siding with enemies during an attack (as the Qurayẓa would later do), would almost certainly not have entered Muḥammad’s mind.

Exile, on the other hand, might well have entered it. Muḥammad surely knew that Medina had a history of expelling tribes or subtribes, including, and perhaps especially, Jews. Before his arrival in Medina, non-Jewish

groups had expelled Jews from Rātij, Ḥusayka and Yathrib, all in Sāfila, Lower Mecca, in the region where Muslims would later dig the famous trench.[1102] We know little about the causes of the expulsions, but find passing references in the *Sīrah* and far fuller records of the occurrences in sections of works on Medina — especially al-Samhūdī's *Wafā' al-Wafā bi-Akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* — that deal with land ownership, occupancy and use.[1103] That Muḥammad knew of such expulsions can be deduced by the fact that, when he arrived in Sāfila from Mecca in the *Hijra*, he took over some of the recently vacated land.[1104] Thus, in expelling a tribe from Medina, even a Jewish tribe, Muḥammad did not do anything that had not been done at least a few times already in the years before his arrival.

If we step back for a minute and ask why Ibn Ubayy was unable to prevent the Qaynuqā''s expulsion, we can see complex tribal dynamics at play, which Muḥammad was masterfully able to exploit. Ibn Ubayy, representing the Ḥublā subgroup, was not the only guarantor of the Awf ibn al-Khazraj's agreement with the Qaynuqā'. There were two guarantors, the other being the much younger 'Ubāda ibn al-Ṣāmit, representing the Qawāqila, whom Muḥammad actively courted. When Muḥammad had first commenced his siege, 'Ubāda came to him and renounced his support for the Qaynuqā', telling Muḥammad: "O Prophet, I unburden myself to you of my alliance with them."[1105] Muḥammad instantly knew from that point that Ibn Ubayy would not be able to do much. When the Prophet decided to expel the Qaynuqā', he shrewdly asked 'Ubāda to take charge of the expulsion. This left the Qaynuqā' without a hope of protection. The subgroup led by Ibn Ubayy would never fight against that led by 'Ubāda, from the same tribal group, no matter how passionately Ibn Ubayy felt about defending the Qaynuqā'. With 'Ubāda siding with Muḥammad, and Muḥammad then putting 'Ubāda in charge, the Qaynuqā''s exile was unpreventable.

Muḥammad responded favorably to the Qaynuqā''s request for time to call in their debts. He gave them three days, something 'Ubāda said he would not have done. After three days, 'Ubāda escorted the Qaynuqā' caravan out of Medina. The men walked while the women and children rode camels. 'Ubāda went with them as far as Khalf Dhubāb before turning back. The Qaynuqā' continued on to the Jewish town of Wādī al-Qurā on the fringe of Shām, remaining there for a month before heading further

north to Adhri‘āt in Shām.[1106]

As the victor, Muḥammad was entitled to the spoils, which were considerable, despite the Qaynuqā‘ not having orchards or fields. As well as armor and weapons, the spoils included goldsmithing tools and, most importantly, they may have included the Qaynuqā‘’s market area, with all its shops, and their houses and *āṭām*.[1107] These were ideally located in terms of Islam, adjoining the Muslims’ own residential areas and of course the Prophet’s Mosque. Given that these spoils came as the result of a siege, Muḥammad would have apportioned the weapons and probably the properties among the un-numbered warriors who had participated, keeping the *Khums*, his fifth.[1108] One can plausibly surmise that he gave houses from the *Khums* to members of the *Muhājirūn* who had until then been dwelling with *Anṣār* partners. He certainly did this later after expelling al-Naḍīr. The number of weapons taken is not recorded — al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d, and al-Ṭabarī merely say “many”[1109] — but Ibn Ubayy had earlier mentioned that the Qaynuqā‘ warriors had numbered “four hundred men in chain mail and three hundred without mail,” so it is reasonable to deduce that a large portion of the four hundred coats of armor and the seven hundred spears, swords, shields and bows and arrows were taken as booty and distributed by Muḥammad, with himself receiving a fifth.

It needs to be pointed out that neither Ibn Hishām nor his source Ibn Isḥāq say that the Qaynuqā‘ were expelled, and they therefore do not mention any apportionment of houses, shops and *āṭām*. For that matter, it must also be said that al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d and al-Ṭabarī, who introduced the belief that the Qaynuqā‘ *were* exiled to Shām (a belief which is now ubiquitous in the Islamic world), merely imply that real estate was included in the booty, but all they actually mention explicitly are the weapons and the goldsmithing equipment. This is indeed strange given how clear and detailed they are regarding the houses and other unmovable property later taken as booty during the raids on the Naḍīr and Qurayẓa.

A strong possibility exists that the Qaynuqā‘ were not exiled, or at least not all of them, a view presented rather compellingly by a minority of scholars of this period including Barakat Ahmad.[1110] Ahmad notes, for example, that later books of *Fiqh* on taxation and property do not mention the Qaynuqā‘’s expulsion or Muḥammad’s and his companions’ ownership of their properties. Ahmad also writes: Yahya B. Adam (140/757-203/818),

who “is usually said by critics to be reliable ... and was primarily a traditionist and legist of the orthodox school” reports that the B. al-Naḍīr were the first to be deported from Yathrib. Imam Shāfi‘ī … mentions that the Apostle employed Jewish auxiliaries of the B. Qaynuqā‘ against the Jews of Khaybar (7/628). Ibn al-‘Imād … though a late writer yet “still useful as a preliminary source of information”, has covered in *Shādharāt al-Dhahab* important events of the Apostle’s life from the time of his Hijrah. He also did not mention the expulsion of the B. Qaynuqā‘ from Yathrib in the second year of the Hijrah or during the Apostle’s life. The Qur’ān supports this view. *Sūrat al-Ḥashr*, which was revealed after the Battle of Uḥud, in the fourth year of the Hijrah and deals with the banishment of the B. al-Naḍīr from Medina, refers to their [al-Naḍīr’s] expulsion as “the first exile”.[1111]

Ahmad is correct that the supposedly exiled Qaynuqā‘ continue to feature in Medina’s story. At the Battle of Uḥud in March 625, eleven months after the supposed expulsion, a well-equipped group of them turned up as potential allies of the Muslims. Then they helped the Muslims, at Muḥammad’s request, in their siege of the Qurayẓa in May 627.[1112] Some (“who were strong fighters”) even went on to fight alongside the Muslims at the Battle of Khaybar in May 628.[1113] Moreover, they were still Jewish; that is, not converts to Islam. They are mentioned in the context of Muslims gaining help from the *ahl al-dhimma*; that is, non-Muslim monotheists who were under Islamic rule and paying *jizya*. They thus could not gain a share of the booty.

Early *Sīrah* writer Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid, a student of the pioneering chronicler Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī, had also noticed that the Qur’ān, in *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:2, unmistakably describes al-Naḍīr’s expulsion as “the first exile” (“لِأَوَّلِ الْحَشْرِ”).[1114] Aware that the Naḍīr had “destroyed their dwellings by their own hands” (“يُخْرِبُونَ بُيُوتَهُم”), to quote the Qur’ān, he expresses total confidence that they were the first Jewish tribe to be exiled, saying: “As for Allah’s words, ‘the first exile’, this means that their exile was the first time in the world that Jews were banished to al-Shām.”[1115] He dates the expulsion to the period after Badr, when we know the siege of the Qaynuqā‘ had occurred, but otherwise relates a narrative that conforms in its broad outline to the Naḍīr expulsion story presented by al-Wāqidī’, Ibn

Sa‘d and al-Ṭabarī. Yet not only does he say, repeating himself for clarity, that the Naḍīr were the first Jews to be expelled, he makes no mention whatsoever of the Qaynuqā‘.

Clearly, more analytical research needs to be done on this fascinating issue before one could feel confident saying with certainty that the Qaynuqā‘ were not exiled, but what works against this thesis, aside from al-Wāqidī’s, Ibn Sa‘d’s and al-Ṭabarī’s reports, are two *aḥādīth*, one found in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the other in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, the two most authoritative and trusted *ḥadīth* collections, which explicitly say that Muḥammad expelled the Qaynuqā‘, Naḍīr, and Qurayẓa.[1116] Moreover, numerous other early chroniclers clearly state that Muḥammad exiled the Qaynuqā‘. Al-Balādhurī, for example, does not mention the distribution of their houses and forts, even though he devotes whole chapters to the distribution of the Naḍīr’s and the Qurayẓa’s lands and houses, but he states unambiguously: “The Jews of Qaynuqā‘ were the first to violate the agreement, and the Prophet expelled them from al-Medina.”[1117]

Perhaps the most likely explanation, although largely conjectural, is that Muḥammad exiled the leaders and rabbis who had opposed and aggravated him most, and allowed others, with their tribal power broken, to remain. It seems implausible that an experienced merchant like Muḥammad, with a leadership obligation to ensure that trade and commerce would continue to thrive, would expel all the goldsmiths. They possessed time-honed skills that could not be acquired, let alone mastered, by anyone merely taking over their shops and tools. There are unmistakable mentions in the sources of at least some of the Qaynuqā‘ remaining in Medina, presumably after being pardoned by Muḥammad and given a subordinated status requiring payment of the *jizya*. This would explain how some of the Qaynuqā‘ were able to fight alongside Muslims in the later sieges of the Qurayẓa and the Jews of Khaybar.[1118] Al-Wāqidī reveals that, even six years later, in 630 CE, “the market of the Qaynuqā‘” was still intact and had not been renamed, which was a definite habit of Muḥammad. This may be because, of course, some of the Qaynuqā‘ had actually converted to Islam at an early stage, and would later be named among Medina’s *Munāfiḳūn* (“hypocrites”).[1119] Yet Qaynuqā‘ converts to Islam would have been too few in number to have played a significant later role in either warfare or commerce. It is more reasonable to believe that a significant number were never exiled. After all,

even much later, after the Naḍīr had been exiled and the Qurayẓa men had been killed, many of the smaller Jewish groups still enjoyed life in Medina, protected by the Prophet.[1120]

Banū al-Naḍīr The earliest extant narrative sources for the expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr also contain obvious differences from each other, but, when compared to the way they had dealt with the Banū Qaynuqā‘, they are slightly more uniform in the story that they tell.

In March 625, the Muslims lost the Battle of Uḥud in a rather humiliating fashion, which — even though the Quraysh of Mecca never exploited the opportunity that their victory gave them —severely damaged both the morale of the Muslims and Muḥammad’s reputation among the tribes for a time. Although his powers of recovery were truly remarkable, and he soon re-established himself as a man not to be trifled with, things were rather grim for a while. Not long afterwards, most likely because some of the local Bedouin tribes now saw him as a spent force, they made the mood worse by tricking and killing over seventy Muslim missionaries in separate atrocities at Bi’r Ma‘ūna and al-Rajī‘.[1121]

Two Muslims who were watching camels, ‘Amr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī and a companion from the Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Awf, came across the dead Muslims killed in the Bi’r Ma‘ūna massacre. Four days later, they encountered two men from the Banū ‘Āmir. Not knowing that they had taken no part in the atrocity, and that in fact the two had come from the Prophet and were under his protection, ‘Amr killed them while they slept in order to avenge his slain companions.[1122] He also took booty off the two men’s corpses.

Muḥammad was deeply upset to learn this.[1123] He demanded that ‘Amr hand over the looted possessions so that he could return them.[1124] Because Muḥammad and the Banū al-Naḍīr were both obliged by virtue of an agreement with the Banū ‘Āmir to pay the blood money, in August 625 he travelled south into al-‘Āliya, Upper Medina, where the Naḍīr mainly lived, in order to negotiate their respective contributions to the blood money.[1125] The Naḍīr leaders, having agreed to share the expense, then (according to al-Wāqidī) asked Muḥammad and his companions to wait while they prepared food. What transpired next is told differently in various sources. Ibn Hishām (but not his source Ibn Isḥāq), al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d and al-Ṭabarī say that “news from Heaven” (“الخبر من السماء”) alerted

Muḥammad that a man of al-Naḍīr was going to drop a boulder onto him from the roof of the building.[1126] Al-Balādhurī mentions the plan to crush him with a rock, but says nothing about how Muḥammad learned of it.[1127] The news was naturally momentous; Muḥammad immediately "returned to Medina," a phrase again indicating that Upper and Lower Medina were seen as separate and that Muḥammad did not yet control al-'Āliya. His companions soon followed, only to learn from him about the Jewish plot, and his instruction that the Muslims must now prepare for war.

The meaning of gaining "news from heaven" is not as clear as one might imagine. It need not mean that Allah warned Muḥammad directly as an act of divine communication, although al-Wāqidī and his student Ibn Sa'd put into Muḥammad's lips the words: "The Jews thought of treachery. Allah informed me, so I left" ("وهمّت يهود بالغدر فأخبرني الله بذلك فقمت").[1128] Even that does not itself mean that Allah actually spoke to Muḥammad somehow, given how frequently the earliest sources use the phrases "Allah raided …", "Allah killed …", and so on, to describe the actions of Muslim warriors fighting in the cause of God. It seems only to be a way of saying that the information was providential.

It probably means that God used a natural, rather than supernatural means, of informing Muḥammad of the danger. Ibn Rāshid certainly believed so, and wrote: For they wanted to kill the Messenger of Allah s. However, a wise woman of Banū al-Naḍīr sent word to her nephew, a Muslim of the *Anṣār*, and she told her brother of al-Naḍīr's plans to betray the Messenger of Allah s. Quickly her brother set off, and when he reached the Prophet s he disclosed their news before the Prophet s had reached the Naḍīr.[1129]
This seems highly plausible as the means by which Muḥammad learned of the plot against him, and even Hamidullah, who ordinarily expresses belief in the *Sīrah*'s many claimed supernatural occurrences, accepts it as the best explanation.[1130] Religious readers of this book should be content to learn that God had used this woman and her family to forewarn His Prophet, and non-religious readers have an explanation that need not be given a supernatural quality.

Either way, there is no independent means of verifying the claim that members of al-Naḍīr were trying to assassinate Muḥammad. The only sources are Islamic narratives intended to show that Muḥammad had a just

cause for attacking al-Naḍīr. Having said that, one cannot deny that powerful antagonisms existed throughout the Medina oasis — indeed, throughout the Ḥijāz — and that the Naḍīr wished things would return to how they were before Muḥammad had arrived and begun to consolidate power at what must have seemed an alarming pace. The Qaynuqā‘’s fate had also revealed the resolute manner in which Muḥammad pursued his goals. Claims that the Quraysh had secretly encouraged Medina’s remaining Jewish tribes to oppose Muḥammad and the growth of Islam are also highly believable.[1131] When Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb had led two hundred warriors north from Mecca to Medina after the Battle of Badr to avenge the death of his son Hanẓala, he had burned some crops and killed a farmer from the *Anṣār* and his servant on Medina’s outskirts. More importantly, he had covertly visited the home of Sallām ibn Mishkam, the Naḍīr leader, who proved to be a generous host, not only feeding and sheltering Abū Sufyān, but also providing secret information on the Muslims.[1132] This cemented in place a relationship doubtless built around their shared dislike of Muḥammad.

Al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d and al-Ṭabarī narrate an event not found in Ibn Hishām: that the Prophet asked his trusted companion Muḥammad ibn Maslama, an early convert of the Banū Aws, to travel to the Banū al-Naḍīr in al-‘Āliya with a very clear message: “The Messenger of Allah sent me to instruct you to leave his territory.” (“إن رسول الله أرسلني إليكم أن اخرجوا من بلده.”).[1133] Muḥammad’s description of the entire oasis as “*his* territory” was deliberate. He was, in effect, stating that he was now Medina’s ruler, rather than merely a chief among a number of chiefs, with whom they might have thought to negotiate. He was *the* leader; there would be no negotiation; at least not as equals. This passage in the sources certainly rings true, as does al-Wāqidī’s description of the Naḍīr leaders anticipating that he would make this very claim of power. This was Medina’s new reality.

Muḥammad ibn Maslama duly conveyed the Prophet’s message, informing them in Muḥammad’s name that they must all be gone within ten days and that, should any of them still be there after the ten-day deadline, they would be beheaded. Naturally, the Naḍīr were terribly unhappy to hear this, and an un-named Naḍīr leader reportedly replied that they were

especially surprised that an ally from the Aws was so aggressively threatening them. He had a point. During the recent war between the Aws and the Khazraj, al-Naḍīr had come to the aid of the Aws, helping them to defeat the Khazraj. That is not to say that they had remained the closest allies thereafter. Michael Lecker clarifies that the Khazraj, not the Aws, were the Naḍīr's natural allies, and that the temporary alliances during the recent war had been unusual.[1134] In any event, Muḥammad ibn Maslama merely replied that "hearts have changed."[1135]

Ibn Hishām does not include this story, and thus does not mention the gruesome threat of beheading. He says instead that, after Prophet Muḥammad's companions had returned to the main Muslim area in Sāfila from the Banū al-Naḍīr in al-'Āliya, wondering where Muḥammad had gone, they found him in his mosque. There he told them that Allah had informed him of the Naḍīr's treachery, and instructed them to prepare for war. "Then he went off with them until he came to them [al-Naḍīr]."[1136] This implies that, after discovering that the Naḍīr planned wickedness against him, Muḥammad promptly launched a surprise attack, probably so that he could deny al-Naḍīr time to prepare an effective defense. They possessed a mighty fortress, after all.

In terms of warfare, especially against a fortification, there is a huge difference between giving an opponent advance notice and launching a surprise attack. Clearly the latter is far more likely to facilitate the effectiveness of a siege. The less time an opponent has to prepare their defence the better. So how might modern scholars make sense of the different narratives? It seems that advance notice of ten days did not occur, because even al-Wāqidī's narrative about how al-Naḍīr spent that time makes no sense.[1137] It records them sending out messages to allies to come to their support, even though no tribes from outside the oasis would be able to intervene in time, the nearby Qurayẓa would almost certainly not risk war with Muḥammad now that he had such a strong position among the Aws and the Khazraj, and Ibn Ubayy, the only friend whom the Naḍīr might be able to count on, had not been able to save the Qaynuqā' from their fate. More importantly, al-Wāqidī also contradictorily says that, resolved to withstand a long siege (of up to a year), the Naḍīr began to bring animals, food and supplies into their huge and strong *ḥiṣn*, and organized the collections of rocks both to strengthen their fortifications and to throw

down upon any attackers, and, on the other hand, al-Wāqidī says that they began to organize the camels and possessions which they planned to take into exile.

In terms of warfare, there is much plausibility in Ibn Hishām's description of Muḥammad ordering and launching an attack as soon as he learned of the Naḍīr's plan to do him harm, thus denying the Naḍīr time to prepare for a lengthy defense. That does not mean that the news of the violent plot, regardless of how that news came to him, was the only, or even the main, cause of the attack. At most, it was the final straw after a sustained period of antagonism and mockery, and it came after the humiliating defeat at Uḥud and the massacres of Muslims at Bi'r Ma'ūna and al-Rajī'. With a temporarily diminished reputation, Muḥammad knew that he needed to accomplish a successful action to restore his standing at a time when it was especially easy for the "hypocrites" in Medina — widely understood to mean Ibn Ubayy and his circle — to question publicly and mockingly why a man who was supposedly the Messenger of Allah was suffering one reversal after another.

The siege of the Naḍīr that occurred in August 625 certainly represented a return to success for Muḥammad. After fifteen days of Muslim warriors surrounding the impregnable unnamed Naḍīr fortress — located in the orchard called Fāḍija in the Jifāf area quite close to Qubā' and possibly in Qurbān[1138] — the Naḍīr asked whether they could negotiate their departure from Medina. One can only imagine that, even though the Naḍīr knew they could withstand a long siege, they quickly realized that the attackers, with their homes and supplies only kilometers away within the same oasis, could equally sustain a lengthy attack. The attack was a low-energy affair which really amounted to surrounding the fortress to ensure that no-one could get in or out. Although the Naḍīr fired arrows — at one point forcing Muḥammad to relocate his prestigious leather chieftain's tent[1139] — and threw rocks if anyone drew too close to their walls, the Muslims were in no danger if their perimeter was sufficiently distant. The Naḍīr did attempt to send out a small raiding party one night, hoping to ambush and kill inattentive Muslims. They were themselves caught and killed, this tiny skirmish representing the only real combat throughout the siege's fifteen days.[1140]

Ibn Ubayy had reportedly promised that, if the Naḍīr stood firm and

remained patient, he and other allies would come to their defence. He promised that he alone would bring 2,000 of his supporters and allies into their impenetrable *ḥiṣn* (presumably meaning before Muḥammad's men had completed their encirclement).[1141] This shows how huge the fortress was. Even if they initially found these promises comforting, the Naḍīr quickly came to treat them with skepticism and were wise not to count on them. They knew that being safely ensconced in an impregnable fortress actually meant little this time, and extra men inside would merely mean more mouths to feed. Negotiating with Muḥammad was the only activity likely to lead to an acceptable outcome.

Muḥammad's mastery of tribal dynamics is obvious. When he first marched south against the Naḍīr in al-'Āliya, he demanded that they conclude a new agreement with him. If they refused, he would in return refuse to grant them safety ("إنّكم لا تأمنون عندي إلا بعهدٍ تعاهدوني عليه.").[1142] In the meantime, he threw his men around the Naḍīr fortress in such a way that the nearby Banū Qurayẓa would certainly see. When the Naḍīr's pride and initial hope of external support prompted them to refuse to enter into a new agreement, Muḥammad left his siege in place while he travelled a kilometer or two to the southeast in al-'Āliya (with an escort of cavalry and foot soldiers) to the Qurayẓa fortress, where he requested a similar renewal of the Qurayẓa's non-aggression agreement with him. Seeing the Naḍīr encircled and struggling, they immediately consented and signed the renewed agreement.[1143] With the Qurayẓa now contractually bound to stay out of the grim events that they saw unfolding in al-'Āliya, and compliant with him for at least the near future, Muḥammad had a free hand to besiege the Naḍīr without fearing the Qurayẓa in his rear and with the Naḍīr now acutely aware that the Qurayẓa, an unlikely last hope anyway, would remain neutral.

What ultimately caused the Naḍīr's decision to negotiate an end to the siege (although they never surrendered unconditionally, as the Qaynuqā' had) was Muḥammad's order to destroy the Naḍīr's orchards of date palms outside the fortress. All the main works of *Sīrah-Maghāzī* agree that both this order and his men's compliance with it occurred.[1144] It did not (as some writers clumsily allege[1145]) deny the Naḍīr their livelihood, making it pointless now to stay in Medina because they had no orchards. They had

other orchards all over Medina, even close to the Prophet's Mosque in Lower Medina, which were not cut down or burnt. But the destruction of the orchards right outside the fortress demonstrated the strength of Muḥammad's commitment to his siege.

Clearly the cutting and burning of trees was seen to be a morally questionable act, and the Naḍīr heckled him from their fortress about what they called his hypocrisy: "O Muḥammad, you always forbade wanton destruction, and criticized anyone who did it, so why are you now cutting down the date palms?"[1146] This may initially have also needed explaining to some of the Muslims, because a Qur'ānic revelation now numbered *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:5 came to express Allah's permission: مَا قَطَعْتُم مِّن لِّينَةٍ أَوْ تَرَكْتُمُوهَا قَائِمَةً عَلَى أُصُولِهَا فَبِإِذْنِ اللَّهِ وَلِيُخْزِيَ الْفَاسِقِينَ

> 5. Whether you [Muḥammad] cut down the palm trees or you left them standing upon their roots, it was with the permission of Allah, and done in order that He might disgrace the rebellious transgressors.

Hamidullah's frequently copied justification of Muḥammad's cutting down of the palm trees is entirely disingenuous. He alleges that the trees allowed the Naḍīr to sneak out and, under cover, attack Muslims: "The beleaguered Jews lived in an oasis, and under the shelter of their palm-groves could harry the Muslim army with impunity."[1147] Cutting them down was thus a security issue. Strangely for a Muslim author's explanation, the nonsensical claim of a military motive — after all, the palms were not between the fortress walls and the encircling Muslims — also flies in the face of the Qur'ānic revelation that the reason for the destruction of the palm trees was solely to make humiliation the appropriate payment for rebellion.[1148]

In agreement with their request, Muḥammad allowed the Naḍīr to leave Medina for good, without suffering any harm, and taking with them whatever possessions they could carry on their camels, including their gold and silver, so long as they did not take away weapons and armor. Muḥammad also let them settle their debts before leaving, meaning that many Muslims suddenly had to pay to the Naḍīr creditors the balance of debts.[1149]

The Naḍīr duly make a huge public spectacle of their departure, but did so with striking confidence and dignity. First, even before they had finished

negotiating with Muḥammad they began stripping their houses of as much wood as time permitted, including beams and window and door frames.[1150] Thick, straight and strong wood was a valuable commodity in Arabia, so taking it with them made perfect sense. This is what the Qur'ān describes as destroying their houses.[1151] Then they loaded the timber and other possessions onto no fewer than six hundred camels. Most of these were their own camels, which ordinarily grazed in Dhū al-Jadr (not far from Qubā' in al-'Āliya) when not carrying their dates and other commodities to markets. Muḥammad would himself take over their grazing grounds, and raise his milch camels there. The Naḍīr also hired additional camels from their friends among the Banū Ashja' for their move northward.[1152]

They looked magnificent. They dressed in their very finest garments, with pearl and gold-adorned women in howdahs wearing luxurious silks and brocade and green and red velvets. When they left on their journey north to Khaybar (and some even further to Shām), with crowds lined up to watch them go, they headed north via Sāfila, with their musicians beating their tambourines and playing pipes.[1153] Observers marveled at the beauty and dignity of the women.

The negotiated terms were genuinely soft, and the Naḍīr, who left with all their movable wealth, were able to turn their departure from Medina into what seemed an almost celebratory statement that they had not been broken or humiliated. Al-Ṭabarī says that they departed "with a grandeur and glory the like of which had never been shown by any tribe in their time."[1154]

Even if the un-numbered Muslim warriors who had besieged the Naḍīr thought and hoped that they would receive booty again, as they had when they fought the Qaynuqā', Muḥammad promptly informed them that this time he would take everything himself, as was his right, because the Naḍīr had not succumbed to armed violence and been defeated.[1155] Rather, they had entered direct negotiations with him, and had reached a diplomatic settlement which prevented them being physically defeated. Only their defeat would have led to the distribution of booty. The sources do not reveal any Muslim discontent, perhaps because a Qur'ānic revelation (*Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:6) immediately confirmed that God had bestowed the Naḍīr's unmovable possessions upon the Prophet because the warriors had made no attack "with either horses or camels".[1156] The following verse is clear: مَّا أَفَاء اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْ أَهْل الْقُرَى فَلِلَّهِ وَلِلرَّسُول وَلِذِي الْقُرْبَى وَالْيَتَامَى

وَالْمَسَاكِينِ وَابْنِ السَّبِيلِ كَيْ لَا يَكُونَ دُولَةً بَيْنَ الْأَغْنِيَاءِ مِنكُمْ وَمَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانتَهُوا وَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ إِنَّ اللَّهَ شَدِيدُ الْعِقَابِ

7. What Allah has restored to His Messenger from the people of the towns belongs to Allah and to the Messenger, his family, orphans, the poor, and the travellers, so that it does not merely circulate among the wealthy of you. So, whatever the Messenger assigns to you, take, and whatever he withholds from you, accept that. And fear Allah, because Allah is severe in punishment.[1157]

Undivided booty taken in this fashion is not called *ghanīma*, which is the generic word for booty taken in combat that must be apportioned among participants, but rather, is termed *al-fay'* (ألفَيئ), meaning that it became solely the Prophet's property through negotiation rather than through combat. The *aḥādīth* that later shaped *Fiqh* on this issue are clear that the *fay'* taken from the Naḍīr belonged to Muḥammad alone because (quoting the Qur'ān) the warriors had made no attack "with either horses or camels".[1158] The unusual thing about this is that, during the earlier siege of the Qaynuqā', there had also been no attack with horses or camels. The phrase must therefore have been metaphorical. Still, when God speaks, believers listen. The Qur'ānic revelation that the *fay'* belonged to Muḥammad alone was entirely sufficient for the Muslims.

The value of the *fay'* was immense. Muḥammad instantly became owner of the Naḍīr's fortress, houses and bounteous orchards in al-'Āliya, and also the ones they owned in Sāfila, including in Zuhra, quite close to the Prophet's Mosque. His personal wealth was already substantial, allowing him to have created with it socially supportive *awqāf* (أَوْقاف, singular *waqf*), perpetual endowments, which greatly helped the poorer Muslims. Now, with the Naḍīr's seven substantial orchards throughout both Upper and Lower Medina coming to him, he was truly able to provide for his many wives and relatives and to give the type of largesse expected of a chieftain. He even settled Māriya the Copt, considered by some commentators to be a concubine, rather than a wife, in one of the former Naḍīr orchards.[1159] He planted crops beneath the trees in his new orchards, from which he was able to provide for his family and even to generate a profit, which he used to purchase horses and weapons for future fighting.[1160]

Additionally, with the houses he acquired he was able to relieve part of

the social pressure within his community. Some of the *Muhājirūn* still shared the houses of the *Anṣār*, which was far from ideal. He therefore allocated some of the Naḍīr's houses to the *Muhājirūn*, giving no booty to the *Anṣār*, except for two men whose poverty he agreed to remedy.[1161] This is referred to in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:8): لِلْفُقَرَاء الْمُهَاجِرِينَ الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِن دِيارِهِمْ وَأَمْوَالِهِمْ يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلاً مِّنَ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَاناً وَيَنصُرُونَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ أُوْلَئِكَ هُمُ الصَّادِقُونَ

> 8. [It is] also for the needy emigrants, who have been forced from their homes and their property, seeking bounty from Allah and His pleasure, and helping Allah and His Messenger. They are the truthful [ones].

How many houses he allocated is not recorded, but we know he also made gifts of Naḍīr property to people of whom he felt especially fond. He gave wells to his closest confidantes, Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq and ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, who were now family thanks to marriage to their daughters, and gave orchards to ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAwf and Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān (also known as Ṣuhayb al-Rūmīy). He gave al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwām and Abū Salama ibn ʻAbd al-Asad the rich date orchard of al-Buwayra to share (some of the trees of which he had just burned down in the "great fire in Buwayra"[1162]). He also gave the renowned sword of Ibn Ābi l-Ḥuqayq to Saʻd ibn Muʻādh.[1163]

Al-Wāqidī seems keen to balance what might otherwise look like Muḥammad acting autocratically by doing with the spoils whatever he wanted (an uncharacteristic reaction for al-Wāqidī, given that he clearly also mentions the Qur'ānic revelation that empowered Muḥammad to do so). He adds a democratic and consultative element to the story (which Ibn Hishām, Ibn Saʻd and al-Ṭabarī do not present), which depicts the Prophet summoning both the Aws and the Khazraj so that he could include them in the decision-making. According to al-Wāqidī's addition, Muḥammad thanked the assembled *Anṣār* profusely for their goodness to the *Muhājirūn*. He then offered the *Anṣār* a choice. He could either divide the booty that he had taken as *fay'* — here referring to the Naḍīr's houses in both parts of Medina — between the *Muhājirūn* and the *Anṣār*, meaning that some *Muhājirūn* would still be living in *Anṣār* houses, or he could bestow the Naḍīr's houses upon the *Muhājirūn* alone, allowing them to have their own homes.[1164] The *Anṣār* agreed to forfeit any reward on this occasion,

believing that the *Muhājirūn* should receive the houses. Muḥammad was grateful, and duly gave an unspecified number of houses to the *Muhājirūn*, with only two very poor men from the *Anṣār* gaining houses.[1165] With the exception of al-Balādhurī, who follows al-Wāqidī on most issues, this addition was not taken up by the early *Sīrah* writers.[1166]

Only two members of the Naḍīr chose to become Muslims. Their property was accordingly not included in the *fay'*, but was left safely with them. That so few of them became Muslims at this time is unsurprising. The earliest sources do not say that Muḥammad or his envoys even invited them to Islam, which is at odds with what al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī say about Muḥammad before the siege of the Qaynuqā', sixteen months earlier. Then he had reportedly demanded that the Qaynuqā' must accept Islam, or else it would be war. Now, with the Naḍīr, the sources are silent. One can thus infer that he made neither a demand nor an invitation. Indeed, he made no issue of religious difference, for reasons not stated in the Qur'ān, the *aḥādīth* or the *Sīrah*.

Banū Qurayẓa The most infamous event in the life of the Islamic Prophet occurred in May 627, straight after the aforementioned Battle of the Trench. Reportedly, he besieged the Qurayẓa in their massive fortress (named al-Muʻriḍ) in al-ʻĀliya, being angry that they had, as shown above, sided with his enemies and promised to support them by attacking the Muslims from the rear while they were busy patrolling the trench in Sāfila. The fact that the Qurayẓa had then lost their nerve and not launched an attack did not absolve them, and Muḥammad could not risk this happening again. After they surrendered, he allegedly either permitted or facilitated (but did not himself order) the beheading of no fewer (but maybe far more) than 400 adult Qurayẓa men. He reportedly participated in their executions himself, according to some accounts, and then sold the women and children as slaves.

Many Muslim writers nowadays feel embarrassed or uncomfortable that the Arabic sources say that Muḥammad took part in what today would be called both a massacre and an act of ethnic cleansing. Perhaps unaware that the ancient world was exceeding brutal by today's standards, and that the killing of enemy prisoners was both common and seldom seen as unethical, much less as criminal (as the Geneva Conventions would today render it), they try to minimize the scale of the killing.[1167] They reduce the numbers dramatically, blaming inconsistencies in the sources, or they write that, while the accounts are basically accurate, the Qurayẓa got everything they deserved for their treachery, with their punishment having not been determined by Muḥammad anyway, but by a member of the Aws, the Qurayẓa's allies. The Prophet's hands are clean, according to their logic. This interpretative trend is new within Islamic historiography, and clearly reflects the values and sensibilities of the modern world and its strong emphasis on what is now called International Humanitarian Law. This grew out of the horrors of industrial warfare, especially the two world wars. Medieval Islamic scholars, on the other hand, lived in a brutal world scarcely less severe than late antiquity, and were not especially concerned

about either the killing or Muḥammad’s role. To them, it was simply a fair and appropriate punishment.[1168] Nowadays, the sharpest critics of Islam, those clumsily labeled Islamophobes, tend to focus disproportionately on Muḥammad’s relationship with the Jews of Medina, seeing the killing of Qurayẓa men as the culmination of Muḥammad’s hateful, and probably antisemitic, response to their rejection of his prophethood.[1169]

Non-Muslim professional historians of early Islam, having no personal stake in the debate, are distinctly less partisan than the two sets of writers mentioned above. They tend to accept the broad outline of events presented by the early writers of the *Sīrah*, and neither understate nor exaggerate the issue. Yet some feel the desire to make a value judgment and portray the killing of the Qurayẓa rather starkly as an act of unusual and almost inexplicable severity by the Prophet. This is not a new opinion that might reflect, for example, a value judgment on the wickedness of terrorist groups including al-Qāʻida or insurgent groups including the al-Dawla al-Islāmiyah fī ʻl-ʻIrāq wa l-Shām, the so-called Daesh. Over a century ago, the famous Scottish orientalist Sir William Muir called the killing of Qurayẓa men “butchery” and wrote: The massacre of Banu Coreitza was a barbarous deed which cannot be justified by any reason of political necessity. There was, no doubt, a sufficient cause for attacking them, and even for punishing the leaders who had joined the enemy at so crucial a moment. Mahomet might also have been justified in making them quit altogether a neighborhood in which they formed a dangerous nucleus of disaffection at home, and an encouragement for attack abroad. But the indiscriminate slaughter of the whole tribe cannot be recognized otherwise than as an act of monstrous cruelty, which casts an indelible blot upon the Prophet’s name.[1170]

It is not necessary to re-tell all the events that caused Muḥammad to consider the Qurayẓa treacherous and dangerous, but a quick recap will help readers to recall the immediate context of Muḥammad’s siege of their fortress. During the Battle of the Trench, when the Quraysh of Mecca, clans from the Ghaṭafān, and several other allied groups besieged Medina from the north, but were held back from the Muslim residential areas by the freshly dug trench, the Banū Qurayẓa were then in reasonably amicable and peaceful relations with Muḥammad. They were certainly adhering to their agreement (*ʻaḥd*) not to side with Muḥammad’s enemies.

This pact was not, as some writers mistakenly believe, the so-called

Constitution of Medina, but was, rather, the agreement made earlier and renewed during the Islamic siege of the Naḍīr. Ibn Sa‘d describes the agreement as *walthu*, or “weak” or “crude” or “basic” (“كانَ بينَ النبيّ s وبين قُريظة وَلْث من عهد”).[1171] This seems to mean that the parties had reached a temporary agreement while they waited to see what would eventuate.[1172] Given that nothing had gone wrong, or caused second thoughts, the Qurayẓa were abiding by the agreement. They even provided moral and non-military support in the form of shovels, pick axes, and buckets. This gave the Prophet the comfort of knowing that, while his warriors patrolled the trench, they would not have to face an attack from the rear.

The Qurayẓa then inexplicably changed sides, or at least acted as though they had. Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab al-Nadrī, the expelled Naḍīr leader who had moved to Khaybar, had arrived in Medina and put tremendous moral pressure on the Qurayẓa’s leader Ka‘b ibn Asad al-Qurayẓī to launch an attack against the Muslims from al-‘Āliya while they were busy patrolling the trench in Sāfila. After initially resisting the pressure, Ka‘b ibn Asad succumbed and, in a grand but foolish show, tore up his non-aggression agreement with Muḥammad. He promised that he would attack the Muslims. Cunning diplomacy on Muḥammad’s part, mentioned above, and the sudden realization that he had made a huge strategic error that would have equally outsized consequences if things went wrong, then transformed Ka‘b ibn Asad’s moment of misplaced courage into regret and timidity. He changed his mind and, despite renewed attempts by the anti-Islamic coalition to push him, refused to send or lead a force against the Muslims. But his initial duplicity became an open secret, and quickly reached the ears of the Prophet, compelling him to detach several hundred sorely needed warriors every day from the trench in order to patrol the approaches from al-‘Āliya in case of a Qurayẓa attack. Being attacked from the rear had cost him the Battle of Uḥud. He would never let that happen again.

After the enemy coalition lifted their unsuccessful siege of Medina, having failed to overcome the trench, a relieved Muḥammad knew that he would have to deal with the Qurayẓa. Although they had not attacked him, they were going to do so, and the symbolic ripping up of the agreement was a societal offense that could not be overlooked.

There may be more to the story of the Qurayẓa's duplicity than that told in the earliest extant *Sīrah-Maghāzī* sources. Al-Samhūdī, the famous historian of al-Medina, records how the Qurayẓa — who were supposed to stay neutral and not support Muḥammad's enemies — responded to a secret request from Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb to assist the Quraysh surreptitiously during the Battle of the Trench by selling them urgently needed food and fodder. A party of Muslims from the Banū ʻAmr ibn ʻAwf who were arranging a funeral in al-ʻĀliya with the Prophet's permission happened by good fortune to spot several dozen camels laden with wheat, barley, dates and straw. It was on its way from the supposedly neutral Qurayẓa to the Quraysh besiegers. After a spontaneous contact battle, the Muslims seized the camels, chased off the escort, and delivered the food to Muḥammad, whose own hungry men greatly benefitted from it.[1173]

Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Saʻd, al-Balādhurī, Ibn Rāshid, and al-Ṭabarī introduce their accounts of the siege of the Qurayẓa with clear statements that the angel Jibrīl (the biblical archangel Gabriel) came to Muḥammad in his home just after he had removed his armor following the Battle of the Trench, and asked him why he had done so, given that he and the other angels had not yet taken off theirs.[1174] Jibrīl then explained that Muḥammad should immediately march against the Qurayẓa, the foundations of whose great fortress he, Jibrīl, would shake. Later, on the road into al-ʻĀliya, the Prophet asked whether observers had seen anyone pass them. He responded to their affirmation that they had seen his companion Diḥya ibn Khalīfa al-Kalbī on his mule by telling them that, in fact, it was not Diḥya whom they had seen. It was actually Jibrīl, who was on his way to shake the fortress's foundations.

Introducing the story of the siege with this divine instruction and intervention clearly establishes the siege's morality, placing it and its eventual consequences for the Qurayẓa beyond criticism by Muslims both then and now. This observation should not be understood to mean that Jibrīl did not convey Allah's requirement to Muḥammad. It may indeed have happened exactly as the early books say. Their authors certainly believed in the verity of the event. Upon what possible evidence could anyone demonstrate the untruth of the story? Yet a supernatural explanation for the siege is actually unnecessary. Muḥammad would have by himself, as an astute man with a finger-tip sensitivity for tribal dynamics in particular and

human psychology in general, fully understood that the threat posed by the now untrustworthy Qurayẓa needed to be neutralized and that it should be done swiftly.

Muḥammad immediately sent out heralds to call the Muslim warriors to assemble for a quick campaign against the Qurayẓa, while, armor-clad and carrying his spear and sword, he led an advance party of thirty-six trusted companions south into al-ʻĀliya. Al-Wāqidī makes a point of stating that Muḥammad not only rode south on a horse, but that he led two others.[1175] There was no practical reason why he would need three horses for such a short trip of only five kilometers. He probably did so purely for effect; to demonstrate success and power in ways that made sense to people in seventh-century Arabia. Far from being the powerless Qurayshī exile who had arrived in the oasis five years earlier, and who had advanced to the Badr battlefield squashed on a camel with one or more relatives two years later, he was now a powerful and intimidating chieftain enjoying mastery of his circumstances.

Around three thousand Muslim warriors eventually responded to their Prophet's call. Wearing armor and carrying the standard weapons used in regular battle, but with no specialized siege weapons, they encircled al-Muʻriḍ, the immense Qurayẓa fortress on the jagged rocky *ḥarra*, and began to fire arrows and throw stones at the defenders, who were themselves firing arrowing and throwing stones down at them. The fact that the sources reveal the number of besieging warriors, which they had not done for the sieges of the Qaynuqāʻ and Naḍīr towers, is testament to the perceived strength of the Qurayẓa's stronghold. Three thousand men is, after all, a very strong force indeed. Muḥammad was well aware of the fortress's immense strength, and reportedly, according to al-Suyūṭī, asked the angel Jibrīl how on earth he would conquer such a fort.[1176] Jibrīl reassured him that he would be there to help.

We learn from *aḥādīth* that the Prophet asked his favorite poet and satirist, Ḥāssan ibn Thābit, to call out mocking poems, which was, as noted above, a normal and expected part of seventh-century Arabian warfare.[1177] Ibn Hishām quotes Muḥammad himself taunting the defenders, calling out: "You brothers of monkeys! Has Allah disgraced you and sent His vengeance down upon you?" prompting them to call back, "O Abū I-Qāsim ["Father of Qāsim," Muḥammad's *kunya*], you are not a ignorant man,"

presumably meaning that they saw his fury and insult to be uncharacteristic of him.[1178] Al-Wāqidī records the exchange in different words, with the Prophet calling them "monkeys *and pigs*, and worshippers of tyrants" ("يا إخوة القردة والخنازير وعبدة الطواغيت"), and the Qurayẓa replying, using Muḥammad's *kunya*, that they knew him not to be an ignorant man.[1179] The word "ignorant" quoted by both early writers comes from the root *j-h-l*, from which the word *Jāhiliyya* ([Age of] Ignorance) comes, but it also seems to denote violent, impulsive or reckless tendencies, a meaning that probably comes closer to the Qurayẓa's intended meaning: that they did not see Muḥammad as an emotionally-charged or impulsive man.

He had initiated the encirclement of the Qurayẓa fortress immediately after the Battle of the Trench, but that does not render it impulsive or reckless. Muḥammad knew that the Qurayẓa's potential allies had just left the Medina oasis in a starving, worn-out and dispirited condition. The Quraysh, the Ghaṭafān, and their allies were in no fit state morally or physically, after having failed for weeks to overcome the trench and defeat the Muslims, to return immediately to the oasis in order to defend the Qurayẓa, who had not honoured their promise to help them. But if Muḥammad let time pass, the Qurayẓa might, in six months or a year, be able to rebuild those damaged relationships and secure some type of support. Yet the Qurayẓa were now alone in every meaningful sense of the word.

Even the sections of the Aws in Medina who were warmly disposed to the Qurayẓa for historical reasons could do nothing to help them, except as petitioners politely requesting fair treatment of their former allies. They certainly would not directly oppose Muḥammad, much less intervene physically. Thus, the Qurayẓa, like the Naḍīr before them, found themselves safely protected, but also trapped, within their impregnable fortress. The Muslims had no way of getting them out by force, and the arrows they fired in rotating units ("like a swarm of locusts"[1180]) were only a sign of resolve, while the arrows fired reciprocally by the Qurayẓa were merely their demonstration of defiance.[1181] Although al-Wāqidī says that "the Messenger of Allah did not stop [his men] shooting at the enemy until he was certain of their destruction," there were very few deaths on either side. Only two Muslims died, one killed by a millstone thrown down upon him, and the

other from an unknown cause.[1182] Ibn Sa‘d even says that “when the Muslims shot their arrows into [the fortress] they had no idea what became of them.”[1183]

Ordinarily, those inside a strong and well stocked fortification will survive if the besieging force has limited food and shelter, but the Muslims surrounding the Qurayẓa fortress could sleep in rotation in nearby camps and houses, and food (dates in particular) arrived daily. Sa‘d ibn ‘Ubāda, the prosperous Khazrajī orchardist, appears to have provided most of the dates.[1184]

Al-Wāqidī says that the Qurayẓa, aware of their dreadful situation (Ibn Hishām describes them having “terror in their hearts”[1185]), attempted to negotiate their survival with Muḥammad, offering to depart from Medina on the same terms as the Naḍīr had. “O Muḥammad,” they said, using Nabbash ibn Qays as their spokesman, “we will accept what the Banū Naḍīr accepted. We will leave you our property and weapons, in return for the saving of our blood. We will leave your territory with our women and children. We will take what the camels can carry, but will take no weapons.”[1186] Muḥammad rejected this position, causing them to try again, this time offering to leave with only their families but without their possessions. Muḥammad also rejected this offer, telling them merely to surrender, but without any conditions.

This claimed exchange shows Muḥammad to be inflexibly set on a resolution more severe than that imposed upon either the Qaynuqā‘ or the Naḍīr; which can only have meant execution of some or all men. What else could he impose upon them, if it was not going to be expulsion either with or without their possessions? Yet the passage is not found in Ibn Hishām, or repeated by Ibn Sa‘d, who ordinarily follows al-Wāqidī, and it was not repeated by Ibn Rāshid, al-Balādhurī, or al-Ṭabarī.[1187]

On the other hand, Ibn Rāshid, citing al-Zuhrī, writes that Muḥammad, after calling the Qurayẓa “monkeys and pigs,” invited them to Islam, meaning that they would thereby save themselves and their property: “The Prophet called on them to accept Islam before he waged battle against them, but they refused to answer his call.”[1188] Neither Ibn Hishām nor al-Wāqidī mention this call to Islam, but they do make clear that the Qurayẓa were aware that making *bay‘a* to Muḥammad and acknowledging his prophethood would save them. With utterly implausible wording, but a

realistic appreciation of their dire circumstances, Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī — along with al-Ṭabarī but not Ibn Sa‘d — quote Ka‘b ibn Asad, the Qurayẓa leader trapped inside the fortress with his terrified people, presenting three options to them:

1. They could accept Muḥammad as a true prophet given that they (as the early *Sīrah* authors fancifully claimed) actually did recognize him as such from the Torah, their holy scriptures. This would save their lives, the lives of their wives and children, and their property.
2. They could kill their own wives and children before launching an all-out assault on the Muslim forces. If their attack failed, at least they had not left their families to become slaves.
3. They could attack the Muslim besiegers during the next day, the Sabbath, when an attack might catch the Muslims unaware, given that the Muslims knew Jews never worked, much less fought, on the Sabbath.[1189]

The same early Islamic chroniclers say that the Qurayẓa rejected Ka‘b ibn Asad’s three options, including his clear recommendation that they choose the first (acceptance of Muḥammad). Their reported rationale for rejecting the second two options is entirely understandable given the extremely low (or non-existent) likelihood that any attack by the Qurayẓa against the besiegers could succeed. Killing their own wives and children was also a repugnant idea to them, as was violating the Sabbath, even under such adverse circumstances. Yet Ibn Hishām’s, al-Wāqidī’s, and al-Ṭabarī’s reported rationale for the Qurayẓa rejecting the first option — that is, accepting Muḥammad as a prophet, and surviving as a consequence — is so illogical that it reveals a serious inconsistency in their narratives. On the one hand, their narratives repeatedly say that the Jews knew full well that their holy scriptures, the Torah, talked about Muḥammad and revealed the authenticity of his prophethood. They even quote the Qurayẓa leader Ka‘b ibn Asad now reminding his encircled and terrified people of precisely that. Yet they then quote the Jews rejecting Ka‘b’s recommendation that they acknowledge the prophethood of Muḥammad precisely because, as Ibn Hishām has them say: “we will not abandon the laws of the Torah or replace

it with anything else."[1190]

Presumably the *Sīrah* writers wanted to incorporate into their account the Qur'ānic message that the Torah, along with the New Testament (*al-'Injīl* in Arabic), did foresee and describe the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad.[1191] Having Jews deny it again only strengthened the case against them. But we have to treat this reported dialogue as deeply implausible, not only because of the aforementioned inconsistency, but also because the dialogue quotes the Qurayẓa telling their leader Ka'b that they would not dare risk breaking the Sabbath in case God physically turned them into apes, as he had done to unnamed forebears.[1192] This is clearly a reference to a somewhat opaque story in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah al-A'rāf* 7:166 and elsewhere) of Jews in an unnamed town beside the sea once having been turned into apes for having broken the Sabbath.[1193] No Jews would ever have treated this as an authentic story, much less a group of Jews trapped inside a fortress because they would not submit to the very man whose revelation — the only place in which the turned-to-apes story can be found — they had rejected.

The Qurayẓa asked to consult with Abū Lubāba ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir, a trusted Muslim from the Banū Aws, their allies. Muḥammad allowed this, and let Abū Lubāba into the fortress to speak directly with the Qurayẓa. They expressed their profound desire to leave Medina for Khaybar or Shām, promising that they would never draw close to Medina again or regroup against Muḥammad.[1194] Abū Lubāba told the Qurayẓa that the Prophet would not relent whilst they were sheltering Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab, the Naḍīr leader who had pressured Ka'b ibn Asad into symbolically tearing up his agreement with Muḥammad. Ḥuyayy was still in their fortress, having not returned to Khaybar after the failure of the Battle of the Trench. Abū Lubāba nonetheless encouraged the Qurayẓa to surrender unconditionally, but in a moment of high emotion when their fate was discussed, he drew his finger across his throat, signifying Muḥammad's likely plan for them, something he immediately regretted disclosing.[1195] They thus knew that they were almost certainly doomed.

After between fourteen and twenty-five long and traumatic days (the sources vary for the siege's duration[1196]), the exhausted Qurayẓa men surrendered to Muḥammad's judgment, and were then bound with ropes until the decision about their future could be made. When Muslims entered the fortress to lead out the women and children, they found a huge cache of

weapons: three hundred chain mail coats, 1,500 swords, 1,000 spears, and 1,500 shields.[1197]

The Qurayẓa's Aws allies — probably mainly from the Aws Allāh clans who lived adjacent to the Qurayẓa in al-'Āliya — rushed to beg Muḥammad for leniency before any punishment could be enacted. Knowing that he would never let the Qurayẓa leave with their wealth, as he had generously let the Naḍīr, who had then repaid his generosity by making war on him from Khaybar, they more modestly asked him instead to treat the Qurayẓa as he had treated the Qaynuqā': far more firmly, seizing all their possessions, but letting them go into exile in Shām.[1198] However, as Michael Lecker astutely observes, "they had little leverage with Muḥammad for the simple reason that most of them had not yet converted to Islam."[1199] That does not mean that the Prophet ignored them. He was highly attuned to tribal dynamics, and did not want to lose the goodwill of the Aws as a whole. He therefore chose a course of action that his critics still see as manipulative[1200], but which actually rested on a sensible appreciation of the situation. He asked the Aws whether they would be content if one of their own people were to pronounce judgment on the Qurayẓa. They immediately agreed.

The man whom Muḥammad chose from the Aws to decide the fate of the Banū Qurayẓa was widely respected by his tribespeople: a devoted Muslim named Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh, chief of the Aws. From the 'Abd al-Ashhal clan, which was very loyal to Muḥammad, Sa'd was unusually devoted to the Prophet and had, before the Battle of Badr (where he served as the Prophet's bodyguard), promised that he and his people would, if need be, follow Muḥammad through the sea like the Israelites had followed Moses. Muḥammad had later entrusted him with arranging the assassination of the Jewish poet Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf. Sa'd did so, sending Muḥammad ibn Maslama to do the deed.[1201] And when the Prophet's wife 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr became caught in a scandal, Sa'd had jumped to her defence, asking for permission to behead the slanderers.[1202]

Sa'd was now close to death, having been severely wounded by an arrow in the Battle of the Trench. Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd and al-Ṭabarī are very clear that the decision to appoint him was made by Muḥammad, not by the Aws themselves or (as many Muslim writers curiously claim) the Qurayẓa.[1203] When Muḥammad summoned Sa'd to pass judgment, the weak

and fast-fading warrior arrived on a donkey, to which he was bound with ropes ("like a captive") in order to prevent him falling off.[1204] Muḥammad asked the Muslims to stand up when he arrived as a sign of respect.[1205]

The Aws allies of the Qurayẓa begged their chief to be lenient, causing Sa'd to reply that it was now his time to serve the cause of Allah, not to worry about what people wanted. Some of those present knew immediately and began to say among themselves that Sa'd's words meant he had already decided that the Qurayẓa men should be killed.[1206] They had reasonable grounds for assuming this; during the Battle of the Trench, Sa'd had heard firsthand from the Qurayẓa that they had torn up their agreement with Muḥammad. Ibn Hishām records that this had infuriated Sa'd: "Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh abused them, and they abused him. He was a man of fierce temper and Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda had to tell him: 'Stop insulting them, for the dispute between us is too serious for recriminations.'"[1207] According to al-Wāqidī, when Sa'd assumed the role of *ḥakam*, or arbiter, he prayed to God "on the morning that the Qurayẓa had submitted to the judgment of the Messenger of Allah" that he would not die before he had gained satisfaction (meaning revenge) against the Qurayẓa.[1208] A *ḥadīth* likewise quotes him praying that he hoped he would not die before the Qurayẓa disappeared from his eyesight.[1209]

Thus, by the time Sa'd asked the two parties — the Aws and the Prophet — whether they would accept his ruling, whatever that might be, Sa'd's hostility towards the Qurayẓa and his desire to treat them severely was widely known. The Aws nonetheless pushed Sa'd to be lenient, and, hoping that he would be, they agreed to abide by his decision. He was their leader, after all. The Prophet also affirmed that he would abide by the decision. Ibn Rāshid makes an interesting comment: "Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh was looking at the Messenger of Allah, hoping for a command from him and trying to discern from him what the Prophet wished his judgment to be."[1210] Close to death, wanting to please his prophet and earn eternity in Paradise, Sa'd issued his verdict: the Qurayẓa men should be killed, their possessions taken as booty, and the women and children enslaved.

It is very unlikely that the Qurayẓa were part of this discussion, despite some early claims and the enduring popular belief that they were.[1211] Why would they have been asked for their view on whether Sa'd should decide their fate? The two parties undergoing arbitration were the Aws and the

Prophet, neither of whom wanted to upset or disappoint the other. The Qurayẓa — who had "submitted to the Prophet's judgment" ("فلما أصبحوا نزلوا على حكم رسول الله s"), according to Ibn Hishām, who repeats the phrase for clarity[1212] — would merely be subject to the eventual decision, whatever it would be.

A claim sometimes made that the Qurayẓa had themselves initiated the choice of Sa'd as their judge, rejecting Muḥammad in that role, makes even less sense.[1213] They knew of Sa'd's close relationship with Muḥammad, their besieger, and remembered Sa'd's recent fury at them for tearing up the agreement. Sa'd was hardly likely to be neutral, let alone supportive. Rejecting Muḥammad at his moment of triumph over them was also unlikely to strengthen their chances.

Even if they had been told that the Aws and the Prophet had agreed that Sa'd was going to decide their fate, what choice did they have, and what else could they have done but comply, even though they knew of Sa'd's uncooled hostility to them and his desire for revenge? They were defeated, terrified, and facing a ghastly future, with Abū Lubāba having indicated their likelihood of death, so they would have accepted anything that may have represented even the faintest chance of survival.

This seems to be what Ibn Sa'd means when he writes that "distress utterly overcame" the Qurayẓa in their fortress so they "surrendered to the judgement of Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh" ("فأخذهم من الغمِّ في حصنهم ما أخذهم فنزلوا على حكم سعد بن معاذ من بين الخلق").[1214] Ibn Sa'd himself quotes another earlier narration that the Qurayẓa in fact "surrendered to the Messenger of Allah," so we should not place undue weight on whose judgment they surrendered to in the first quotation.[1215] Moreover, Ibn Sa'd's biographical sketch of Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh in Volume 3 of his *Tabaqāt* contains different and difficult to reconcile versions, each with different chains of narrations.[1216] Al-Wāqidī is clear that when exhaustion overcame the Qurayẓa, they "surrendered to the judgment of the Messenger of Allah."[1217] *Aḥādīth* on this matter are equally contradictory, with some saying that they surrendered to the judgment of Muḥammad, who then delegated their punishment to Sa'd, and others saying that they surrendered to the judgment of Sa'd.[1218]

Regarding the contradictions in the sources, Islamic scholar Barakat

Ahmad says that the contradictions cannot be reconciled and that it makes no sense to believe the Qurayẓa were ever involved in negotiating the appointment or acceptance of their judge, especially when they knew of Sa‘d’s bitter hostility and desire for revenge. Otherwise, they would be knowingly “inviting a death sentence”.[1219] Ahmad adds that, even if one were to follow only Ibn Hishām’s account (that is, Ibn Isḥāq’s), “one is obliged to conclude that Sa‘d’s judgment was prearranged.”[1220]

When Sa‘d proclaimed that the Qurayẓa men should be killed, their possessions taken as booty, and the women and children enslaved, Muḥammad unhesitatingly endorsed it, announcing that “Your judgment is that of Allah, above the Seven Heavens.”[1221] According to al-Wāqidī, he ordered that the prisoners, who remained bound, should be marched north into Sāfila — that is, into “Medina” — which would have taken the entire day. He then had the men and women housed separately; with the men being kept in the compound of Usāma ibn Zayd and the women in the compound of the daughter of al-Ḥārith.[1222] Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī say that all the prisoners were kept together in the latter only.[1223] The word translated here as compound is *dār* (دار), which can mean a house. This has prompted some writers to argue that the numbers of prisoners could not have been large if they were kept in an individual house.[1224] Yet the word *dār* has a far looser range of meanings associated with a building or even an unbounded area in which people live, and was even used in classical *Fiqh*, for example, to refer to both the entire Islamic world (دار الإسلام, *Dār al-Islām*) and the entire non-Islamic world (دار الحرب, *Dār al-Ḥarb*), where they are usually translated as “Abode of Peace” and “Abode of War”.[1225]

The Prophet ordered the digging of trenches in the area of Sāfila in or near his new market, thus slightly to the southwest of the Prophet’s Mosque.[1226] There was still uncultivated land without buildings in Sāfila. Despite Ahmad’s specious and exculpatory claims[1227], the trenches could not have been dug directly around the Qurayẓa’s fortress in the southeast of al-‘Āliya, where the solidified volcanic lava flow would have prevented any meaningful digging, and the rest of the area nearby was heavily cultivated. Destroying crops for a mass burial would have made no sense to anyone, and having bodies decaying in soil where food was grown was probably culturally unpalatable.

That night, the Qurayẓa were well fed and permitted to read aloud the Torah, and the next morning they were brought out in small groups at a leisurely pace and beheaded.[1228] Because the executions went on for the entire day, which was a hot day, Muḥammad ensured that there was a pause during the midday heat and that those awaiting execution were kept cool and well hydrated.

Al-Wāqidī writes that Muḥammad himself did the beheading, aided by ʻAli ibn Abī Ṭālib and Al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwām.[1229] Ibn Hishām writes that Muḥammad did the beheading, but given that the previous sentence says he had dug all the graves we must assume that this merely means that he oversaw it.[1230] Ibn Saʻd and al-Ṭabarī say that the Prophet had them executed, meaning that other people did the killing.[1231]

By way of balance, it must be noted that the phrase "The Prophet killed the men" or "he killed the fighting men" (and other variations with the same meaning) does not, at least in the *aḥādīth*, mean that he killed *all* the men, or that he killed them himself. In *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* and other canonical collections, for example, we find *aḥādīth* saying exactly that (that he killed the fighting men), but the phrases are referring to his warriors' attacks on the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq and the Jews of Khaybar, when relatively few men (certainly only a minority) were killed, and they were killed by Islamic warriors, not by Muḥammad himself.[1232]

Barakat Ahmad claims that, according to Muḥammad's prior "policy" (by which he must really mean merely a habit) when assassinations were carried out, the execution of the Qurayẓa must have been carried out by members of all the Aws clans.[1233] He is mistaken. The reason why Muḥammad had always had assassinations carried out by members of the same tribe or clan as the victim, or by a member of an allied tribe or clan, was to ensure that there would be no blood feud afterwards. If, on the other hand, the Qurayẓa men were all killed, and the women and children were taken into slavery, the Qurayẓa tribe would in effect cease to exist. Who would be left to conduct a blood feud? Ahmad's unreasonable analysis is based on his unwillingness to accept that all, or a substantial proportion, of the Qurayẓa men were killed. He says that maybe only around 16 or 17 men — the Qurayẓa's chiefs — were killed after the siege ended.[1234]

As well as four named leaders being killed by ʻAli ibn Abī Ṭālib and Al-Zubayr ibn al-Awwām, around twelve Qurayẓa leaders were indeed killed

by the various Aws clans. Yet, contrary to Ahmad's claim, this occurred only after some Aws clans had expressed their detestation at Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh's death sentence upon the Qurayẓa, which flew in the face of their previous alliance with them.[1235] According to al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām), the Aws were deeply hurt by the fact that the Qaynuqā', the Khazraj's allies, had been allowed to leave Medina unharmed because of Ibn Ubayy's intercession, yet their own allies were going to be killed. Two Khazraj leaders, Sa'd ibn 'Ubāda and al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir, used this situation as an opportunity to embarrass their Aws rivals, and reported it to the Prophet. This highlights the fact that tribal disunity still existed even so long after the *Hijra*. Al-Wāqidī adds that Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh was greatly embarrassed (and doubtless annoyed that so many of his own people strongly opposed his verdict), and told the Prophet that good and faithful members of the Aws would comply and that God should punish those who opposed the execution. This prompted some of Sa'd's companions to request Muḥammad to distribute captured Qurayẓa leaders among the Aws clans in order for the clans to kill the leaders, whether they wanted to or not, as proof of their loyalty. Thus, "Allah would force" those who disliked the death sentence to take part in it. Muḥammad agreed. The clans killed the twelve leaders assigned to them.[1236] But this has nothing to do with the hundreds of other prisoners who were marched to Medina and slain in large ditches.

The competition and jealousies between the Aws and the Khazraj depicted here was, as noted, an abiding feature of the Prophet's community. After the Aws clans had proven their loyalty by killing the Qurayẓa leaders, the Khazraj looked for a way of proving that they were superior in the Prophet's eyes.[1237] According to Ibn Hishām (but not al-Wāqidī) the Khazraj, aware that the Aws had assassinated Ka'b ibn al-Ashraf before the Battle of Uḥud, asked themselves who was as big a thorn in Muḥammad's side as Ka'b had been. They came up with Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq, also known as Abū Rāfi', a Jewish poet and Naḍīr tribal leader now in Khaybar who had composed incendiary poems against Muḥammad and helped to negotiate the Ghaṭafān's participation in the Battle of the Trench.[1238] A group of Khazraj men went to the Prophet and asked for permission to assassinate Sallām. He granted their request, so long as they killed no women and children, and they soon thereafter killed Sallām in his bed at

night.[1239] Al-Wāqidī and other sources give Muḥammad greater responsibility for initiating the attack.

To return to the killing of the Qurayẓa men, the early *Sīrah* sources clearly state that no boys were killed. They use slightly different phrases to describe the males who were sentenced to death according to Sa‘d’s verdict — “those upon whom razors passed,”[1240] “fighting men,”[1241] “the men,”[1242] “every adult [male]”[1243] — but the meaning is identical: the captured men over the age of puberty were killed, but no-one beneath that age. The *aḥādīth* say that Muḥammad “killed their men” (“فَقَتَلَ رِجَالَهُمْ”[1244]) but also quote Sa‘d saying in his verdict to “kill their fighting men” (“فَقَالَ تَقْتُلُ مُقَاتِلَتَهُمْ”[1245]). To make clear that only adults are meant, other *aḥādīth* say that this denoted males without public hair.[1246]

The earliest extant *Sīrah* sources and the *aḥādīth* contain various figures for the total number of Qurayẓa men killed, and they use different phrases to describe how adulthood was determined, but they do not disagree that at least *400* adult Qurayẓa men, meaning post-pubescent men, were beheaded. To claim that fewer than 400 men were executed would require a scholar to consider the traditionally accepted sources for the Prophet’s life — the early books of *Sīrah-Maghāzī* but perhaps also the *aḥādīth* — are so fatally corrupted that that they are unusable. It is ironic that many Islamic scholars who now reject the traditional account of the execution of the Qurayẓa men nonetheless continue to use the very same sources for their reconstruction of the rest of the Prophet’s life. Their acute concern for the fidelity and reconcilability of sources is selective.

It is true that even the most widely cited early *Sīrah* sources disagree on the number. Ibn Hishām says that “in total they were 600 or 700, although some put the figure as high as 800 or 900.”[1247] Al-Ṭabarī repeats these figures.[1248] Al-Wāqidī, citing different earlier sources, says that 600, 600-700, or 750 Qurayẓa men perished.[1249] Ibn Sa‘d gives a figure of 600-700.[1250] Other early scholars use these figures in their own accounts, with some giving lower figures, ordinarily 400-450.[1251] Despite these figures differing and appearing to be estimates, which really only means that no exact headcount was made or has survived, no major classical Islamic chronicler disputed the basic verity of the narrative that the executions occurred and involved the beheading of at least four hundred adult Qurayẓa

males. The *aḥādīth* are also clear that the executions occurred and "the Qurayẓa men were killed."[1252] Unusually, the *aḥādīth* do not give numbers, with the exception of al-Tirmidhī, who says that 400 Qurayẓa men died.[1253] Given that the killing is explicitly mentioned in the Qur'ān[1254], the classical jurists also accepted that it occurred and were able to base normative rules upon it regarding the treatment of belligerents and prisoners during and following warfare.[1255] On balance, then, one would have to see greatly stronger evidence that the Qurayẓa men were not killed than the weak case made by Ahmad and other palliating writers before one could reasonably see merit in their position.

Although none of the Qurayẓa had chosen to accept Muḥammad's prophethood and save themselves, their families and their property, three young Jewish men of the Hadl group did exactly that, leaving the fortress very shortly before the Qurayẓa surrendered. The Hadl — "cousins" of the Qurayẓa —were probably a subordinate client group[1256], even though Ibn Hishām says that "their pedigree was above that of the Qurayẓa."[1257] The three men (two brothers and a cousin or nephew) duly saved their lives and their families', and were able to retain ownership of their orchards.[1258] As it turns out, these men may have had familial reasons for their warmer disposition to Muḥammad. Evidence shows that the brothers were married to two sisters who were the Prophet's distant relatives.[1259]

Sources show that the Muslims killed one Qurayẓa woman along with the men; a woman who had thrown a millstone down upon a warrior, killing him horribly.[1260] She thus lost her right as a woman to be included in the protections ordinarily accorded to her sex. The Muslims also killed an un-numbered group of the Banū Kilāb ibn Rabī'a ibn 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a, allies of the Rifā'a clan of the Qurayẓa, who were probably converts to Judaism.[1261] Those Banū Kilāb men may also have refused to accept Muḥammad's prophethood and save their lives.

Following the killing of Qurayẓa men, Muḥammad distributed the booty, which was, as with the siege of the Banū al-Naḍīr, very substantial. As well as the arsenal of weapons (three hundred chain mail coats, 1,500 swords, 1,000 spears, and 1,500 shields), which was a terrific boost to the emerging Islamic polity's warfighting capability, there were very many houses (and the major and several smaller fortresses), orchards, and other properties. There was also an unrecorded number of camels and other animals, and of

course the Qurayẓa's household possessions, utensils and clothes.[1262] All wine taken as spoils was poured into the ground without being drank.

No less important and valuable, the booty included 1,000 women and children, which suggests that the total number of men killed was at the bottom of the range given in the sources, not at the top. The women and children were to be sold as slaves according to Sa'd ibn Mu'ādh's ruling.[1263] Taking his rightful fifth meant that Muḥammad gained 200 women and children as his property, which he accepted from Maḥmiyya ibn Jaza'a al-Zubaydī, to whom he entrusted the apportionment of the spoils and the separation of the *Khums*, without choosing them himself.[1264] The only personal selection he made, as the *ṣāfiya* or "leader's share," was the "beautiful" Rayḥana bint 'Amr ibn Khunāfa, whose husband had been executed. The Prophet asked her to accept Islam in place of Judaism, which she initially rejected before finally being persuaded to do so by Ibn Sa'iyya.[1265] She nonetheless declined Muḥammad's offer of marriage, choosing to remain his slave and concubine.[1266]

Al-Wāqidī says that Muḥammad freed some of his new slaves and gave away others as gifts, but he does not say how many Muḥammad kept in his ownership.[1267] He sold two of his new slave women and their six sons to a local Jew named Abū al-Shaḥm al-Yahūdī for one hundred and fifty dinars, and he sold many to 'Uthman ibn 'Affān and 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf, who sold them on for considerable profit (with 'Uthman making more money because he chose older slaves, who, it turned out, were more desirable).[1268] Muḥammad sent the rest of his new slaves north to Shām and eastward to Najd to be sold in exchange for weapons and horses. The Jews of Khaybar and Taymā' (but not Wādī al-Qurā, as Ahmad mistakenly claims[1269]) also bought some, probably to manumit. Pagan Bedouins did so too, although obviously not to free. Muḥammad stipulated that no children should be separated from their mothers. Interestingly, al-Wāqidī says that the "Jews of Medina" also bought some of Muḥammad's slaves, proving that Jews still lived safely in Medina even after the three main tribes had been dealt with.[1270]

Muḥammad considered this siege a campaign, with the victory coming through armed force, not through negotiation, so he announced that he would take his fifth, the *Khums*, and distribute the rest of the booty among the three thousand warriors who had undertaken the siege.[1271] Given that

they were not Muslims, the Qaynuqāʻ warriors who had served as auxiliaries alongside the Muslims were not entitled to a share of the spoils. As al-Sarakhsī writes: “The Messenger of God ﷺ sought the assistance of the Jews of Qaynuqāʻ against Banū Qurayẓa, and he did not give them anything of the booty.”[1272] The three thousand Muslim warriors received equal shares, with the thirty-six horsemen getting extra shares, two for each rider and one for each horse, meaning that, after he had taken out his own fifth, the Prophet divided the booty into 3,072 portions of equal monetary value (even if each recipient received different numbers of slaves, clothes, camels, date palms, and so on).[1273]

Modern readers will find the enslavement of humans to be beyond distasteful, as does this author, but slavery was a feature of almost every pre-modern society and an institution then permitted by all the monotheistic confessions. Even Jesus Christ accepted the institution and never railed against it. Saint Paul was very clear: slaves were to obey their masters with the same faithfulness as believers were to obey Christ.[1274] Judging the keeping or selling of slaves by today’s post-abolitionist moral standards would be understandable, of course, but it would anachronistically place back into the seventh century a set of values that did not exist.

With the Qurayẓa men killed, the Naḍīr expelled (with their power now based in Khaybar) and at least some of the Qaynuqāʻ also expelled, Muḥammad was now master of the entire Medina oasis, both Sāfila and al-ʻĀliya. Now owning or controlling even those parts of the oasis in which he had never previously set foot[1275], he could finally draw Sāfila and al-ʻĀliya together. It could now become a single entity, “the city of the Prophet,” as it has been called ever since. Ibn Ubayy, the only leader of true influence left among the Aws and the Khazraj, knew better than to push hard or be openly defiant. So did the remaining Aws clans who had so far delayed embracing Islam. With their Qurayẓa neighbors and friends now gone, the Aws Allāh, the only group of non-Muslims in al-ʻĀliya, finally accepted the Prophet’s leadership.[1276]

That does not mean that everyone in Medina was now a Muslim. As noted, a considerable number of Jews remained safely in Medina — and had a protective agreement (موادعة, *muwāda’a*) with Muḥammad[1277] — but now without any defining tribal authority or strength. They doubtless

paid *jizya*, in return for which they were allowed to enjoy their religion without molestation and were exempt from the requirement to contribute to Jihād. Because no drama was attached to them, and they apparently interacted harmoniously with their Muslim neighbors, the early writers of *Sīrah* lost interest in them, and they quickly faded from the historical record.

Also, Muḥammad's mastery of Medina does not mean that he had the sincere affection or loyalty of everyone who had submitted to him, either through religious acceptance of his prophethood or through a *bay'a* pledge of obedience. Over three years after the siege of the Qurayẓa, Muḥammad would have to order the destruction by fire of the Ḍirār ("Opposition") Mosque in Medina, probably located near to Qubā' in al-'Āliya, which had been erected before he left Medina to campaign in Tabūk. He had the mosque destroyed after receiving news or a revelation that a faction of people who had earlier submitted to his authority, but who resented it, wanted to establish a focal point for dissention.[1278] The incident is mentioned in the Qur'ān (*Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:107): وَالَّذِينَ اتَّخَذُواْ مَسْجِداً ضِرَاراً وَكُفْراً وَتَفْرِيقاً بَيْنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَإِرْصَاداً لِّمَنْ حَارَبَ اللّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ مِن قَبْلُ وَلَيَحْلِفَنَّ إِنْ أَرَدْنَا إِلاَّ الْحُسْنَى وَاللّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ

> 107. And [there are] those who make a mosque for harm and disbelief, and division among the believers, and as a base for whoever warred against Allah and His Messenger in previous days. And they will say "we only wanted what is good," but Allah bears witness that they are liars.

But that sad affair would be over three years in the future. In the meantime, Muḥammad recognized that, despite now finally controlling the entire Medina oasis, and having established pacts of various kinds with Bedouins around Medina and elsewhere in the Ḥijāz, he still had enemies in Mecca to the south and in Khaybar to the north. Gaining Mecca was emerging as his ultimate goal, after having dealt with the Qurayẓa, who were Medina's last strong pocket of danger or opposition. Ibn Hishām revealingly quotes him saying at this point: "The Quraysh will not now attack you after this, but you will [one day] attack them."[1279] Of course, he could not yet head south with a force to liberate Mecca while the Jews of Khaybar, who had taken in the expelled Banū Naḍīr, could potentially sweep down into Medina while

Muḥammad and his men were away in Mecca. This threat would have to be resolved.

The Siege of Khaybar Muḥammad's campaign against the Jews of Khaybar — whose leaders had initiated the Battle of the Trench in April 627, forming a coalition with both the Quraysh in Mecca and the Banū Ghaṭafān — had a fascinating diplomatic context and genesis that very few Muslims nowadays know about.

During the crucial years of 627 and 628 CE, Muḥammad faced rivals or enemies both to the north of Medina and to the south. In the northeast his main concern was the sprawling and powerful seminomadic Ghaṭafān, who had (for a financial inducement) half-heartedly united with the Jews of Khaybar and the Meccans in the Battle of the Trench. At that time, the enemy coalition had fallen apart due to lack of commitment, adverse weather, poor logistics and squabbles between the Ghaṭafān and the Quraysh (partly instigated by Muḥammad's clever insertion of an insider within the coalition).

One hundred and fifty kilometers north of Medina[1280] was also the cluster of fortified Jewish towns in the sprawling oasis of Khaybar, where a significant portion of Banū al-Naḍīr — including the leaders Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab (who was later executed among the Qurayẓa men), Abū Rāfi' Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq (soon to be assassinated), and Sallām's nephew Kināna ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq — had settled after their expulsion from Medina in August 625. They already owned date orchards in Khaybar[1281], and were immediately accepted into leadership positions upon their arrival.[1282] Believing that, if they could defeat Muḥammad in another attempt, they could regain what they had lost in Medina, the expelled Naḍīr remained hostile and zealously tried to induce or entice other Arab tribes to join with them against the Prophet. The Naḍīr's continued hostility was certainly a reason why Muḥammad took a harder line after the Qurayẓa surrendered. He could not simply have expelled the Qurayẓa to the north, where they might also have settled in one of the Jewish towns and then plotted their revenge or joined the Naḍīr and the Ghaṭafān.

Muḥammad worked hard to minimize the likelihood of an attack from the

northeast and north by sending raids against the bothersome Bedouin groups, often taking their camels and other livestock as a warning, which had the associated benefit of providing much-loved booty to his warriors, or by merely showing up in their territory as a sign of strength. He even sent a squad into Khaybar to assassinate Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq at night, hoping to make a powerful deterrent statement.[1283] After hearing that Sallām's successor, Usayr ibn Zarim, was continuing his predecessor's conspiring with the Ghaṭafān, Muḥammad also had Usayr assassinated (he was killed after an aborted attempt at diplomacy).[1284] Yet actions like these, even if they slowed down the enemies' ability to organize an attack on Medina, were never likely to prevent it forever. The risk remained and was, indeed, significant.

And south of Medina was Mecca itself, where the Quraysh were still committed to the destruction of Muḥammad's growing polity even though they would probably not try another northward attack until conditions became far more favorable. For Muḥammad, who was still a Meccan at heart and convinced that Mecca was a city dear to Allah (the Qur'ān calls it "أُمَّ الْقُرَى", "the mother of cities"[1285]), the cleansing of Mecca of polytheistic worship had become his key ambition. He aimed to re-dedicate the Ka'ba, the cube-shaped shrine at Mecca's center, to the One God.

We should not underestimate the danger of Muḥammad's situation. In his enemies' minds, and according to the norms of Arabic tribal warfare, based on the retributive *lex talionis*, the only solution was his or his community's eradication.[1286] Describing his intention to destroy the Islamic polity, the Quraysh leader Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb had told Muḥammad in a letter after the Battle of the Trench: "In the name of Allah, I swear by al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā [his pagan gods], surely I came to you with my allies and indeed, we vowed not to return until we had eliminated you."[1287] At one point, Abū Sufyān even swore to abstain from sexual relations until he had attacked and defeated the Islamic polity.[1288] It was not just a military victory that he now wanted, but Islam's "elimination" also, as Muḥammad acutely understood.[1289] The Arabic word used by Abū Sufyān is *yastāsil* (يستأصل), which means to "root out".

Muḥammad must have felt seriously concerned that a new coalition would eventually try again to crush Islam. Possibly involving Mecca, Khaybar,

and their Bedouin allies, it might next time be larger than his forces could withstand. There were apparently even discussions in Khaybar about all or at least several of the northern Arabian Jewish towns and settlements — meaning Khaybar, Taymā', Fadak and Wādī al-Qurā — joining up to attack Medina, even if meant doing so without the unreliable Ghaṭafān or other Bedouins.[1290] We do not know if Muḥammad heard of this scheming (or if it really occurred), but Muḥammad was sensible enough to reflect on all possibilities He knew that if he took all his warriors out of Medina to deal with Khaybar in the north, the Meccans might storm north and take the empty Medina from the south. He also knew that he could not lead his warriors south from Medina to Mecca while either or both of the foes to the north, the Ghaṭafān and the embittered Jews of Khaybar, could march upon the undefended Medina. Even worse, if Muḥammad attacked either, the other could sack Medina, capture its women and children, then race to the assistance of its ally, attacking the Muslims from the rear. Caught halfway between two strong enemies, Muḥammad therefore had to orchestrate a set of moves that would remove these threats once and for all.[1291]

The opportunity came when Muḥammad led a weakly armed pilgrim column towards Mecca to perform an 'Umrah in March 628 CE. He left Medina well-guarded, taking with him only around 1,400 pilgrims.[1292] As noted above, the Quraysh halted the Muslim pilgrimage at al-Ḥudaybiyya, twenty kilometers (twelve miles) northwest of Mecca. Yet the Quraysh felt obliged to choose diplomacy instead of either letting the Muslims enter Mecca unimpeded, which would make them look weak, or fighting the pilgrims, which would damage their claim to be impartial custodians of the shrine who welcomed, accommodated and protected all pilgrims. Trying to appear resolute but without causing bloodshed, the Quraysh agreed to sign a treaty with Muḥammad barring him from entering Mecca that year, but promising peace for ten years and the right to make a pilgrimage the following year. This agreement, they correctly reasoned, would finally end the financially catastrophic Muslim raids on Meccan caravans. Importantly, the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya contained a seemingly innocuous clause allowing both sides to create alliances of their own without violating the ten years of peace guaranteed between them.

While the imposition of the treaty looked to Muḥammad's companions and followers like a humiliation, which greatly angered them and prompted

vocal opposition, he saw within it tremendous potential strategic benefits that easily offset the treaty's one-sided clauses and the demeaning treatment by the negotiators. The treaty not only formally bestowed upon him equal status with Meccan leaders, but also gave him a free hand to make alliances with nomadic and other tribes, which he believed he could entice away, one by one, from Meccan influence.

Most importantly, he arranged something that was apparently not known to, or was suppressed by, the authors of the early books of *Sīrah* (and is little known by Muslims today): a very discrete agreement with Mecca, which would annul Mecca's defence treaty with Khaybar in order for Mecca to make a new agreement with him. With this new agreement, he could march north against Khaybar and destroy it as a center of enmity with no threat of an attack from the south by the Meccans.

We cannot find this agreement mentioned in the early biographies of the Prophet, but it is explicitly revealed in *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, a book by Muḥammad al-Sarakhsī, an eleventh-century Persian jurist, who was commenting on an earlier work, the highly influential *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Kabīr*, by the founder of Islamic international law, Muḥammad al-Shaybānī. Al-Sarakhsī writes that an agreement (*muwāda'a*) existed between Mecca and Khaybar, meaning that "if the Messenger of Allah s marched on one of the two parties, the other party would attack Medina". However, al-Sarakhsī adds that, at al-Ḥudaybiyya, Muḥammad was able to negotiate the annulment of that agreement, and, in a strategic master-stroke, to create a new agreement (وادع, *wada'a*) "with the people of Mecca so as to secure his rear when he would march on Khaybar."[1293]

After returning to Medina, Muḥammad did just that. Almost immediately (after the briefest of respites), he moved against Khaybar, besieging its towns and fortresses in a difficult and exhausting, but ultimately successful, campaign that permanently removed his gravest threat in the north. True to their new "secret" agreement with Muḥammad, the Meccans did not attack Medina while the Muslim men were away besieging Khaybar. With their own trade caravans now being left alone by the Muslims, and with Muḥammad complying with the agreement-bound state of peace, the Meccans probably breathed a sigh of relief that it was someone else, not them, on the receiving end.

That does not mean that Muḥammad had weak grounds for attacking Khaybar. Even with the Meccan threat having evaporated with the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya, an attack from the north was still a grave concern. Khaybar may not feature in the minds of Muslims as much as Mecca and Medina, due to their much closer association with the Prophet, but by every meaningful measure Khaybar was an urban area to rival them in power and prosperity. It was culturally, economically and militarily strong, and now, with a significant portion of its people wanting retribution, it could not be ignored.

Like Medina, Khaybar was a well populated cluster of towns and orchards occupying a very large oasis, which apparently contained three main areas of settlement: al-Naṭāt, al-Shiḳḳ and al-Katība.[1294] Each region occupied expanses between the *awdīya*, the ordinarily dry riverbeds that filled and even flooded seasonally, and the *ḥarrat*, the blackish, commonly jagged fields of solidified volcanic flows which are still obvious at and around Khaybar.[1295] Each of these three main areas contained several towns and villages, much as Sāfila and al-‘Āliya did in Medina. Each of the larger towns had fortresses, some of them as powerful as that of the Banū Qurayẓa.[1296] This accounts for Khaybar’s name, which probably came from the Hebrew word for fortress.[1297] There was a total of either seven or nine *ḥuṣūn*[1298], the strongest types of fortresses: purpose-built supposedly impregnable keeps or castles in which whole populations could shelter during sieges. Some even had internal fresh water supplies, coming from springs or hidden streams.[1299] There was probably an equal number of *āṭām*, the smaller but fairly strong fortresses that were dual-use, serving as regular houses or warehouses during periods of peace. The present author has visited the ruins of these fortresses and can attest to their formidable strength (at least as far as one can determine from their foundations and remaining levels). For maximum strength and difficulty of approach several of the *ḥuṣūn* were perched on precipitous craggy basalt outcrops, with their lowest levels being extensions of vertical cliff faces. Tunnelling beneath them would thus be impossible.[1300] With very thick lower walls constructed of carefully laid large stones, rather than mudbricks, and with heavy iron and wooden doors, they were virtually impregnable.[1301] Even approaching them was made difficult by the tightly winding paths cut through the harsh volcanic rock bed, which would foil the use of any type of battering ram.

In fact, most of the towns within the Khaybar oasis were situated within the *ḥarrat*, which stretched for 150 kilometers in three directions, with Khaybar sitting near the western edge, occupying “gashes in the lava-field”.[1302] Once one gets off the defendable paths in Khaybar’s towns, created for ease of movement, walking over these jagged rocks is awkward, and horsemen certainly could not have attacked over them.

Unlike in Medina, the various peoples of Khaybar — Arabs who had embraced Judaism a long time before, according to Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish[1303] — were on relatively good terms with each other and had no recent history of internal tribal warring. Moreover, they had close ties with Bedouin tribal groups, especially the Ghaṭafān, who transported their dates, raisins, grains, and vegetables (including onions and garlic[1304]) to markets elsewhere in Arabia and beyond in return for half of the proceeds.[1305] This mutually beneficial collaboration gave the Bedouins a strong financial incentive to ensure that no discontinuity occurred. The amount of foodstuff grown in Khaybar’s rich groves, orchards and cultivated fields — supplied by plentiful water and a highly sophisticated irrigation system — was phenomenal. ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥa would later, upon Muḥammad’s request, assess Khaybar’s total yield of dates. This he calculated to be 40,000 camel loads.[1306] Al-Katība, one of Khaybar’s key regions (the one that Muḥammad would take for himself as part of the *Khums*[1307]), alone had 40,000 fruit-bearing date palms.[1308] Craftsmanship and commerce also flourished. Presumably based around its markets, Khaybar held an annual fair in the region of al-Naṭāt that ran for three weeks in the month of Muḥarram and drew merchants and others from all over Arabia.[1309]

This very prosperous oasis, populated with a sophisticated, cohesive and highly motivated and organized Jewish community and some non-Jewish client groups, was thus potentially both a powerful threat *and* a lucrative prize. Muḥammad needed resources if he wanted to continue his mission to spread monotheism throughout Arabia and to create some type of centralized polity to organize and govern the ever-increasing monotheistic community. With little booty entering the Islamic coffers in the year or so since the siege of the Qurayẓa, and with his warriors chomping at the bit both to prove and enrich themselves — many of them still very disillusioned by the al-Ḥudaybiyya settlement — it made sense not to delay the attack on Khaybar, which, if it could be taken, would deliver a fabulous

amount of booty. This is what Montgomery Watt meant when he wrote: “The moment he chose for the attack — May /June 628 … shortly after his return from the expedition of al-Ḥudaybiyah — was one when it was also convenient for him to have booty to distribute to his followers whose expectations had recently been disappointed.”[1310]

In May 628, Muḥammad marched against Khaybar with 1,400 warriors on foot and 200 horsemen.[1311] This was certainly not an especially large force, and was far smaller than the 3,000-strong force that had besieged the Qurayẓa. According to al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām), far more Muslims wanted to go, craving the booty, but Muḥammad felt frustrated that many of these would-be raiders had recently not wanted to accompany him on the booty-less ‘Umrah, so he rejected their support this time.[1312]

The relationship between the ever-present craving for booty and righteous motivations for fighting in God’s cause is very complex, and the earliest narrators differ at times, including regarding the lead-up to the Khaybar campaign, where they wrestle intellectually with this complex relationship and accordingly describe events a little differently. Al-Wāqidī depicts Muḥammad wanting as many of those who had gone with him to al-Ḥudaybiyya to join him on the Khaybar campaign, which he knew would be, if they prevailed, an unusually lucrative conquest. He would thus be able to use the inevitable booty to strengthen their commitment, given that they had felt frustrated with him (to put it mildly) during the al-Ḥudaybiyya negotiations. He therefore cleverly had his herald proclaim that he would now only accept those willing to exert themselves for Allah. “As for booty,” the herald cried, “there will be none!”[1313]

If al-Wāqidī is correct, then this this “no booty” message must have been merely a strategically purposeful message designed to make a point and weed out the inadequately motivated. Muḥammad himself knew that there would be booty, immense amounts of it. He was sure that Allah had promised it to him.[1314] A Qur’ānic revelation (*Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48.20) about the al-Ḥudaybiyya agreement had stated that those who had pledged their loyalty to Muḥammad at al-Ḥudaybiyya would soon be rewarded with a lot of booty: وَعَدَكُمُ اللَّهُ مَغَانِمَ كَثِيرَةً تَأْخُذُونَهَا فَعَجَّلَ لَكُمْ هَذِهِ وَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنكُمْ وَلِتَكُونَ آيَةً لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَيَهْدِيَكُمْ صِرَاطاً مُّسْتَقِيماً

> And Allah has promised you great spoils of war for you to take, and he has withheld the hands of people from you, that it may be a sign for the

believers, and he might guide you to the Straight Path.

According to al-Diyārbakrī, however, the course of events was a little different. When Muḥammad decided to attack Khaybar, he openly proclaimed to his followers in Medina that in this revelation Allah had guaranteed the oasis town to him and that "Allah has promised you great spoils of war for you to take." He wanted booty to be a direct inducement. Yet al-Diyārbakrī adds that Muḥammad also advised that no-one should go forth with him "except that he desired to do Jihād" and was not "after the width of the *Dunyā* [that is, all the non-spiritual rewards of the world]."[1315]

In either case, when he led his warriors north in May 628, Muḥammad certainly planned that, in compliance with the Qur'ānic revelation, the bulk of any booty taken should go to those who had undertaken the al-Ḥudaybiyya campaign, whether they were now personally going north to Khaybar or were absent. They had struggled with his decisions at al-Ḥudaybiyya, and, astutely, he wanted to maintain their goodwill and ensure that their *rapprochement* was genuine and permanent. This explains why, with very few exceptions, the warriors this time were the very same men as the pilgrims who had accompanied him to al-Ḥudaybiyya.[1316]

The many Jews who still lived in Medina — "who had an agreement [*muwāda'a*] with the messenger of Allah" — were nervous when they learned of the impending Khaybar mission, worried in case some of the Muslims who owed them money would get killed in Khaybar.[1317] They therefore called in their debts. When one Muslim man angrily hauled to the Prophet a Jew named Abū l-Shahm, who wanted repayment of a small debt, and told Muḥammad that Abū l-Shahm, "the enemy of Allah," had boasted of Khaybar's great strength (saying "By the Torah, in it are 10,000 warriors!"), thus trying to make Abū l-Shahm look disloyal, Muḥammad remained unconcerned. Medina's Jews were, after all, under his sworn protection, and had certain freedoms. On the issue of the debt, he immediately sided with Abū l-Shahm, telling the surprised Muslim to pay him what he owed.[1318] Clearly not antisemitic, as some modern writers allege him to have been, Muḥammad also had some of the "strong warriors" from the Jewish Banū Qaynuqā' serve as auxiliaries on the Khaybar campaign.[1319]

Muḥammad led his warriors north with as much stealth as they could

muster, hoping to prevent the people of Khaybar from learning of their approach and taking defensive measures. For three days or so, they travelled along an unusual and indirect route, marching at night. Al-Wāqidī mentions how, on the northward journey, the Prophet asked one of the riders, ʻĀmir ibn Sinān (also called Ibn al-Akwaʻ), known for his beautiful voice, to sing one of the haunting camel-songs that Bedouins sometimes sang to their herds at a slow tempo matching the camels' almost silent footsteps.[1320] ʻĀmir sung a eulogy of the Prophet, who was very moved and asked God to be merciful to him.

The people of Khaybar were, according to al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām) militarily very strong, and "ten thousand men set out in rows every day … one thousand men in armor".[1321] Al-Wāqidī repeats this assertion five pages later: "The Jews rose every night before dawn, strapped on their weapons, and lined up in formations, all ten thousand warriors."[1322] This makes no sense at all. Why would they unite as one and arrange themselves in rows, which means the types of lines associated with set-piece battles, not defensive siege-craft? They were never likely to fight outside of their fortresses. They were also never going to fight as a single oasis-wide force, but as tribal groups. The figure of ten thousand ready, armed, and disciplined warriors is symbolic and formulaic, typical of the pattern in the *Sīrah-Maghāzī* that makes the Muslim force almost always a greatly outnumbered underdog. The mention of one thousand men in armor, on the other hand, might be more realistic. It would probably indicate a defensive fighting force of perhaps four or five thousand warriors, meaning those men who would withdraw into their own tribe's fortresses, take up weapons (mainly spears, bows and arrows, rocks, and stones), and fight from the rooftops or from the slit windows. Even al-Wāqidī, who repeats several times that there were ten thousand united, armed and disciplined warriors in Khaybar, elsewhere, narrating another matter, quotes a woman of Khaybar stating that there were four thousand warriors in the city.[1323] Further, as will be shown below, the amount of armor and weapons captured at Khaybar does not support the claim of anywhere near ten thousand armed warriors.

Muslim raiding parties (like *all* desert raiders) had a low success rate at catching their enemies unawares, despite their constant efforts. The supposedly empty spaces between oases and towns were simply too full of Bedouin camps, shepherds, travellers and others to allow groups to cross

wide expanses without being detected. Yet somehow on this occasion, Muḥammad succeeded in arriving undetected in the Khaybar oasis in the darkness before dawn on the fourth or fifth day after leaving Medina. Contrary to what al-Wāqidī claims about the ten thousand defenders, Muḥammad witnessed no pre-dawn assembly into lines or other formations of Khaybar's supposedly disciplined warriors, let alone a united force numbering ten thousand. All he saw at dawn was the almost idyllic movement of unarmed farmers leaving their homes with their donkeys, spades, baskets and other work implements in order to enter their orchards and fields.[1324] As soon as they saw the Muslims, the farmers panicked and ran back to their homes shouting in fright, "Muḥammad and the forces!"[1325] Muḥammad immediately rejoiced that he would not be fighting a set-piece battle against a ready and assembled force.

While it is clear that Muḥammad successfully caught the people of Khaybar by surprise, and did not therefore engage with them before fighting to see whether they would accept Islam, Ibn Hishām reveals that, in fact, on an earlier undated occasion, he had called them to Islam, an invitation which they had apparently declined. Perhaps in the period before the Banū al-Naḍīr's leadership had made Khaybar their base for ongoing opposition, he had written a rather friendly letter to Khaybar's Jews explaining that he was a prophet of the One God and a brother of Moses, whose revelation he confirmed.[1326] He was himself mentioned in the Jewish holy book, he added, but "if you do not find that written in your book, then there is no compulsion on you."[1327]

Scholars are unsure of the location of the Prophet's arrival in the Khaybar oasis, but it may not have been from the south, as one might have imagined. After capturing and questioning a Jewish Bedouin shepherd from the Banū Ashja' — who later converted to Islam under threat of execution (as a spy, not as a Jew) — the Muslims learned that a delegation of the Jews of Khaybar led by Kināna ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq had contracted with the Ghaṭafān to fight with Khaybar if it was attacked, in return for the dates of Khaybar for a year.[1328] Muḥammad therefore immediately moved his advance route to Wādī al-Rajī' (towards the northern end of the oasis[1329]) in order to place himself between the Ghaṭafān and Khaybar, thereby believing that he could, if he had to, fight the Ghaṭafān before they could link up with their allies to form a much greater force.[1330]

Khaybar’s people had rushed back into their houses and especially into their fortresses, which the Muslims had to assault sequentially. They did not have the numbers to attack all the major fortresses simultaneously. They began in al-Naṭāt. Al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām) clumsily repeats an already-used topos: that Muḥammad was such a consultative leader that he allowed a companion to correct him when he had placed his forces in a dangerous place. He even says that the companion was again al-Ḥubāb ibn al-Mundhir, who does this several times in al-Wāqidī’s book, the first time being at Badr. This time al-Ḥubāb asks Muḥammad (characteristically, in al-Wāqidī’s formula) whether Allah had told him to place his forces there. When Muḥammad confirmed that the positioning of troops was from his own intuition, not from revelation, al-Ḥubāb explained that the Muslim warriors were far too close to both malarial swamps and al-Naṭāt’s skilful archers.[1331] Muḥammad quickly moved them to a safer location. The problem with repeating this literary device is that, while indeed it shows the Prophet to be humble and consultative, it also makes him appear militarily incompetent, repeatedly (without learning) needing to have fundamental and potentially deadly mistakes corrected by others. Given how successful Muḥammad actually was throughout his career as a warrior, we are probably best to discount al-Wāqidī’s report as no more than a well-intended but overused literary flourish.

It is the same with al-Wāqidī’s claim (not made by Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa‘d, Ibn Rāshid, al-Balādhurī or al-Ṭabarī, and not made by *aḥādīth*[1332]) that Muḥammad cut down date palms in al-Naṭāt, this time on the advice of al-Ḥubāb. Again, we see a topos, a repeated image used to create an almost subliminal but seemingly important message. According to al-Wāqidī, al-Ḥubāb told Muḥammad that he should cut down al-Naṭāt’s date palms because the Jews loved them. Muḥammad unhesitatingly agreed and ordered their destruction. Observing that destruction, Abū Bakr advised the Prophet that Allah would fulfil His Qur’ānic promise, so why was he cutting down what would soon be his? Persuaded by Abū Bakr’s logic, Muḥammad immediately ordered the cessation of the cutting, but not before four hundred date palms had been chopped down.[1333] This story, with elements almost identically presented elsewhere in al-Wāqidī’s biography (including during the sieges of the Banū al-Naḍīr and the city of Ṭā’if), makes no sense. Muḥammad had proclaimed the Qur’ānic revelation that he

would receive the bounty of Khaybar, so why would he destroy highly valuable orchards so needlessly if he would soon be inheriting them as God's reward? And why would he unquestioningly follow al-Ḥubāb's direction, or need Abū Bakr to tell him what he already knew? Al-Wāqidī's story makes Muḥammad look slow-witted, easily-led, petty, and vindictive, which any fair analysis of his life will clearly demonstrate him not to have been. It is therefore strange that Hamidullah repeats the claim, but creates a false and illogical excuse not even found in al-Wāqidī': "To fight the enemy in a thick oasis, he ordered to hew down many date palms".[1334]

When the people of Khaybar withdrew into their fortresses, Muḥammad had to encircle each with his warriors, who could do little more than fire arrows and patrol the perimeters to stop people getting in or out until their food and water diminished. Courageous Jewish fighters apparently formed into a unit and stood firm in front of the equally brave Muslim besiegers — who used their usual war cry, "O victorious, kill! Kill!" — to give the townsfolk time to secure themselves in their fortresses.[1335] Both sides formed into battle lines before the crushing press became a *mêlée* of infrequent severity[1336], which Ibn Sa'd described with unusual frankness: "The Messenger of Allah s fought against the polytheists [which the monotheistic Jews were not], who offered the fiercest combat. They killed a large number of [the Prophet's] companions, and he also killed a large number of them."[1337]

After that first heated battle, an awkward pattern emerged. One by one the Muslims surrounded a particular fortress and tried to force its inhabitants to surrender through constant pressure, which was not easy for warriors who had no specialized siege equipment. Exchanges of arrows occurred all day, with the Muslims picking up and firing back arrows that had been fired at them.[1338] The darkness of night, when most besiegers had to sleep, provided sufficient cover for Jewish women and children, and sometimes men, to slip out of the targeted fortresses into other ones, sometimes taking with them their wealth and other key possessions.[1339]

Khaybar's Jews fought more bravely than any of their coreligionists had in Medina, sallying out regularly to fight small *mêlées* or to call Muslims to duel in the traditional manner. The constant threat of their attacks prompted Muḥammad to pitch his special chieftain's tent quite a distance back in al-Rajī' and to ride into battle each day, adorned in two coats of mail.[1340] He

remained in al-Rajī‘ for ten long and difficult days until it was safe enough to move his camp forward again.

The Jews nonetheless lacked any centralized coordination of their forces as a whole, and essentially left each town to defend itself. When one fortress was under attack, the Jews did not leave the other fortresses to relieve the pressure, but stayed inside their own, strengthening them for when the inevitable attacks came. This has caused some writers to allege that the Jews of Khaybar were severely disunited.

Yet it would be wrong to imagine that all the different tribal groups were *a* people. They were not. They were peoples, plural, who may have lived in the large Khaybar oasis, but they lived contentedly with a degree of separation, common to many tribal societies, and had their own areas, leaders, identities and loyalties, without any type of umbrella leadership. Saying that they should have done this or that would be to imagine a situation that never existed. In any event, despite their courage and fighting spirit, which Muḥammad doubtless respected, they were not able to exploit their obvious warfighting talents and gradually began to fade as the siege dragged on.

Muḥammad was able to take the first fortress, Nā‘im in al-Naṭāt, only after a Jewish man named Simāk who had been captured and threatened with execution offered to provide the Muslims with a way into the partially evacuated fortress if Muḥammad, in return, would spare him and his family.[1341] Muḥammad readily agreed, and the next day was able to take that fortress, in which he found an arsenal, including a disassembled mangonel (a small torsion-less catapult), leather-covered siege wagons and a significant cache of armor and weapons, all of it hidden exactly where the Jewish man had said it would be.[1342] The mangonel was probably being stored for future sale, as perhaps some or all of the stored weapons were. That man later became a Muslim, but left Khaybar for an unknown destination. Another fortress in al-Naṭāt fell to the Muslims after a Jewish man named Ghazzāl offered Muḥammad secret details about the underground streams that supplied water to his fortress. Muḥammad promised him and his family safety, gained the location of the streams, dug down and blocked them, and forced the inhabitants (who were so used to having running water that they had not stored any) to leave.[1343]

When Muḥammad had the mangonel assembled, his men used it to hurl

rocks at the walls of the al-Nizār fortress in al-Shiḳḳ until, as al-Wāqidī and Al-Maqrīzī say, after a prolonged assault, “Allah conquered it.”[1344] This implies that it was taken without much combat, yet, as al-Wāqidī also reveals, the combat was ferocious and involved both deadly duels and hectic *mêlées*.[1345] Interestingly, when each major fort fell, Muḥammad made peace with its inhabitants, thus preventing at least a portion of the warriors from moving as reinforcements into other fortresses.

One should not imagine that the besiegers were finding it easier than the besieged were. Al-Wāqidī says that Jewish resistance was brave, sustained and effective, causing Muḥammad to feel “very annoyed” (“حدة شديدة”) that his warriors were “accomplishing nothing” with each attempted assault, and “distressed” (“مهموماً”, which can similarly mean heavily-burdened or anxious) at the slow progress.[1346] The sources also reveal that the Muslims quickly became fatigued, famished and dehydrated.[1347] When the Prophet noticed a grazing herd of sheep belonging to the fortress of al-Ṣa’b ibn Mu‘ādh, he challenged his men to find the courage to rush forward beneath the arrows fired from the fortress to seize some sheep.[1348] Abū l-Yasar sprinted forward, grabbed two sheep and dashed back with them, one under each arm. Muḥammad was greatly amused by how he ran “like an ostrich”.[1349] The meat provided at least a little relief. However, when some of the Muslims observed that twenty or thirty of the Jews’ domesticated donkeys had escaped from their enclosure near the fortress, they slaughtered and began to cook them. Muḥammad was aghast that domesticated riding or pack animals were being killed, which violated Islamic dietary rules, and forbade it.[1350] He had his heralds travel from group to group to convey his instruction that domesticated donkeys were unclean and could not be eaten.[1351] When the Banū Sahm of the Aslam complained of acute hunger, he expressed regret that he had nothing to give them and prayed on their behalf that they would get to conquer the richest fort with the most food.[1352] This duly transpired.

Taking the forts was unusually frightening and difficult, with Jewish arrows falling upon the Muslims like “swarm of locusts”.[1353] At one point, an arrow almost killed the Prophet, penetrating and becoming entangled in his outer garment.[1354] ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib is singled out in the sources for his bravery, not only in duels but also in close-quarters fighting, with claims of

divine healing and miraculous feats of strength augmenting the stories. Muḥammad's bodyguards protected the Prophet with their shields, and he repeatedly charged forward with considerable courage, urging his men to follow him, reminding them of Jihād's primary promise: eternity in Paradise for those who fell. On one occasion, a group of Jewish warriors sallied out from their fortress and drove Muḥammad's men back, causing him to exhort them to stand firm with promises of the very thing they loved most: booty.[1355] It did the trick. They found their courage and rallied to their flag. Before long they had forced their way into the fortress and captured the defending warriors and their families and possessions. Even more importantly, the starving Muslims found a great amount of food.

After the Muslims took the large fortresses in al-Naṭāt and al-Shiḳḳ and forced the inhabitants of the smaller fortresses to withdraw or surrender, they still had to take the Banū Abī l-Ḥuqayq's forts in al-Katība, which were named al-Waṭīḥ and Sulālim, and, mightiest of all, al-Qamūṣ. Some of the Jewish warriors who had evacuated forts elsewhere in the oasis, but were still defiant, moved into these citadels. With the Muslims now adequately fed and feeling far more optimistic, the Jews began to ponder their fate, realizing that, without allies coming to their rescue, they were effectively locked inside a prison.

After another two weeks or so (bringing the overall siege to around a month[1356]), the tired and dispirited Jewish defenders, alone without any allies who might ride in to relieve them, asked to negotiate with Muḥammad, who happily agreed and was "gracious" towards Kināna ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq's delegate, Shammākh. Perhaps because they had fought so bravely, and proven a worthy foe, Muḥammad agreed with Kināna himself that the Jewish warriors could, upon surrendering, depart from Khaybar (unharmed and unpunished) with their families, but not with their wealth or weapons. These would be taken as booty. Orchards and cultivated fields would also go to the Prophet.[1357] Hearing of these terms, fighters within the remaining two fortresses would soon surrender on the same terms.

This was not a "victory" in an ordinary military sense of defeating the enemy's forces or even significantly reducing their physical ability to fight on. Despite the ferocity of certain engagements, the overall casualty rates on both sides were extremely low. Ninety-three Jewish warriors reportedly died, which, if were to suggest there was a total of 5,000 armed warriors,

give a mortality level of only 1.86%.[1358] If we were to accept al-Wāqidī's claim that there were 10,000 warriors, this would fall to a miniscule 0.93%. On the Muslim side, there were only 15 or 17 deaths, which is only 1% of the total of 1,600 Muslim warriors.[1359] Of course, very many more on both sides were wounded, and thus rendered *hors de combat*. It is reflective of the unusually low-casualty nature of warfare in the Prophet's lifetime that even death rates of no more than one or two percent prompted Ibn Sa'd to write (as cited above) of "the fiercest combat. They killed a large number of [Muḥammad's] companions, and he also killed a large number of them." Similarly, Ahmad hyperbolically writes of the "great loss of life in battle."[1360]

Yet the outcome unquestionably left Muḥammad with the upper hand in all negotiations, and he was, as a consequence, able to impose his terms sequentially upon each of the Jewish groups as they laid down their weapons, emptied their fortresses, and handed over their movable possessions. One therefore cannot deny that Muḥammad had achieved all his Khaybar-related goals. But that was not the end of the story. As the various Jewish groups made ready to leave Khaybar, it dawned on some of the Jewish leaders that Muḥammad might now control Khaybar, but it would be worthless to him if its fertile orchards and fields were not expertly managed. No-one could manage them as well as they could. They therefore proposed to Muḥammad that, rather than leave, they should stay on and continue to tend their orchards and fields, with half the produce each year going to Muḥammad. Immediately seeing the logic, the Prophet agreed. He imposed no religious requirements upon them (they were not made to become Muslims, for example), and indeed, when the Jews reported that their precious Torah scrolls had be taken, Muḥammad had them returned unharmed.[1361]

Muḥammad was reportedly soft towards the princely Kināna, his bitter enemy who had tried to bring the Ghaṭafān against him, and merely asked Kināna to promise that he would remain honest with him and not conceal anything (probably after remembering that the Naḍīr had left Medina with weapons hidden in their saddlebags). Kināna readily agreed, pledging exactly this in front of both Muslim and Jewish witnesses so that his word would form a legal oath.[1362] Muḥammad warned him that dishonesty would constitute a punishable breach of their agreement. Kināna confirmed that he

understood. Yet when Muḥammad then asked him where he kept his family's famous treasure chest (actually a camel-skin pouch or sack full of gemstones and luxurious jewelry), Kināna lied and said that he had spent it on war expenses.[1363] When it turned out that Kināna had lied and hidden the treasure beneath the ruins of the main fortress in al-Naṭāt, from where it was soon recovered, the gravely disappointed Muḥammad had him executed.[1364]

Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī, al-Diyārbakrī and al-Maqrīzī, among others, all relate something that might surprise many readers. They narrate an event that was unapologetically quoted in other Islamic accounts[1365] but also concealed by some Medieval scholars[1366] and left out of most recent biographies of the Prophet.[1367] They say that, upon learning that Kināna had lied, Muḥammad ordered him to be tortured — with his chest being burned open by a fiery poker — in order to force him to reveal whether he had hidden other treasures elsewhere.[1368] The description is explicit. Obeying the Prophet, al-Zubayr ibn ʻAwwām kindled a fire on Kināna's chest, using firesticks (the kind used to start fires), until Kināna was nearly dead. Although there are small narrative differences in the various versions, the wording about torture is unambiguous, and cannot be explained away as meaning something else. Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī write: "فقال: عَذِّبْهُ حتى تستأصل ما عنده" ("He said, 'Torture him until you extract what he has'"). Al-Wāqidī writes: "أمر رسولُ الله ﷺ الزُّبَير أن يُعذّب كِنانه بن أبي الحُقيق حتى يستخرج كلّ ما عنده" ("The Messenger of Allah ﷺ commanded al-Zubayr to torture Kināna ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq until he revealed all that he had"). Al-Diyārbakrī and al-Maqrīzī follow al-Wāqidī's wording, with minor and inconsequential changes. Al-Balādhurī confuses Kināna's name but is clear that al-Zubayr tortured the liar.

Al-Wāqidī says that Muḥammad then had Kināna's brother (Ibn Saʻd says his cousin) tortured, before handing the almost-dead Naḍīr chief over to Muḥammad ibn Maslama, who (as Ibn Hishām agrees) beheaded him in revenge for the death of his brother Maḥmud ibn Maslama, who had died when someone thought to be Kināna dropped a millstone on his head from the roof of the Abī l-Ḥuqayq fortress.[1369] Bishr ibn al-Barā' executed the brother. Upon Muḥammad's orders, their wives and children became slaves

(the only slaves taken in Khaybar).[1370]

A detached and even-handed historian will not hide or obscure evidence of something unpalatable, even if describing it is uncomfortable and explaining it is not straightforward. Yet, beyond saying that the torture probably happened as outlined, it is difficult for an objective historian to say much more with confidence about the meaning of this event or the reliability of the account. There is simply no wider body of evidence or explanatory commentary in the early sources. Even Ibn Hishām, al-Wāqidī, al-Ṭabarī, al-Balādhurī, al-Diyārbakrī and al-Maqrīzī — who unhesitatingly present the torture as certainly having happened — do not comment on its obvious inconsistency with how they themselves depict Muḥammad's humane treatment of individual war captives both before and after that point. Following the Battle of Badr four years earlier, in April 624, Muḥammad had forbidden any torture or mutilation of prisoners, saying in unequivocal terms: "I will not mutilate … for Allah would then mutilate me even though I am a prophet."[1371] He made this oft-quoted statement first after 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb had asked for permission to extract the teeth of Suhayl ibn 'Amr, a Quraysh leader who had long been a thorn in Muḥammad's side.[1372] Moreover, Ibn Sa'd, who ordinarily follows al-Wāqidī, twice briefly narrates the story of Kināna's dishonesty, his and his brother's execution, and the enslavement of their children, but omits mention of torture.[1373] The canonical *ḥadīth* collections are equally silent, with only one *ḥadīth* in *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* mentioning Kināna's lie and execution and the enslavement of his family, but not the torture.[1374]

We should resist accepting what might seem an easy assumption that the recorders of *aḥādīth* had found Kināna's torture to be so injurious to the Prophet's reputation that they censored it. After all, the *ḥadīth* collections are not as cleaned up or sanitized as some non-Muslim scholars have insisted. All six canonical Sunni *ḥadīth* collections, for example, contain *ṣaḥīḥ* (sound or reliable) *aḥādīth* which reveal that in March 628, only two months before the beginning of the siege of Khaybar, Muḥammad had ordered the mutilation of murderous camel thieves, whose hands and feet were cut off and eyes burned out by red-hot irons before they were left to die on the hot *ḥarra* beneath a scorching sun.[1375] The early *Sīrah* sources attest to this *ḥadīth*-reported mutilation having actually happened, and present it matter-of-factly as a severe punishment for a grievous crime.[1376]

The commentary in *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī* says: “It has been reported that Muḥammad ibn Sirin said: ‘The Prophet only did this to them before the legislated punishments were revealed.’”[1377] Indeed, a study of the key books of relevant *Fiqh* (an elaboration of which is outside the scope of this study) confirms that most classical jurists accepted that the mutilation occurred, but at a stage when God was still in the process of revealing to His Prophet the appropriate punishments for crimes. They link it to the “coming down” of the Qur’ānic revelation found in *Sūrah al-Mā’idah* 5:33-34, which specifies the punishment for murder and for *fasād* (فساد), meaning egregious and wanton acts. Many exegetes, including Ibn Kathīr, directly link the verse to Muḥammad’s punishment of the camel thieves, claiming that *Sūrah al-Mā’idah* 5:33-34 came after it to limit the level of punishment that could be inflicted. Even al-Wāqidī, who quotes two narratives with different authorities — both saying that Muḥammad had the thieves’ hands and feet cut off, but only one saying that he also had their eyes burned out — asserts that he did this before the Qur’ānic verse came, and that it came as a response to provide divine guidance. “After that an eye was never gouged out”.[1378]

That Kināna ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq was killed during the siege of Khaybar is uncontested. Muḥammad took Ṣafiyya bint Ḥuyayy, Kināna’s seventeen-year-old widow, as his *ṣāfiya*, or leader’s share (which may be the origin of the name by which she is known). She promptly became his wife, gaining her freedom as her bridal price.[1379] She was the daughter of Ḥuyayy ibn Akhṭab, Muḥammad’s detested enemy who had helped to initiate the Battle of the Trench, during which he had bullied the Qurayẓa into breaking their agreement with the Prophet. Ḥuyayy had been executed along with the Qurayẓa men, meaning that Muḥammad had been responsible for the death of both Ṣafiyya’s husband and father. Yet, although she had no children with him, by all accounts Ṣafiyya became a devoted and cherished wife.

With the negotiated surrender of Khaybar’s various groups, Muḥammad found himself master of one of Arabia’s most fertile and prosperous oases. His personal wealth, which was already significant, immediately increased dramatically, providing him with the means to create transformational reforms to alleviate poverty (mainly through *awqāf*, which we would today call humanitarian endowments) and to progress his grand vision for the

Ḥijāz and beyond. The amount of booty was very great. The sources mention that after each major fortress surrendered, its people turned over to the Muslims their armor and weapons. Figures are not available for all the fortresses, but the warriors who had concentrated in the mighty al-Qamūṣ ḥiṣn for what they thought would be a final showdown handed over 100 coats of mail, 400 swords, 1,000 spears and 500 Arabian bows with full quivers.[1380] This amount would equip four or five hundred or so warriors, so if we were to assume than the same amounts were taken in the other six large fortresses, we can see that al-Wāqidī's claims of ten thousand fully armed Jewish warriors, one thousand of them in armor, were not realistic.

As each town handed over its gold, silver and chattels while its people were preparing to leave the oasis (until Muḥammad accepted their offer to stay on and farm, turning over half their produce), it became clear that he had acquired a fortune in treasure, precious metals, trading stocks of linen, Yemeni velvet and glassware, furnishings, utensils, foodstuffs (including barley, fat, honey, oil, and butter[1381]), clothes, camels, goats, sheep, and so forth.[1382] Clearly, he could not strip Khaybar of everything, otherwise the inhabitants who remained and continued farming would have immediately become non-functional, but even taking the surplus, and leaving them with the essentials (the things that they would have taken away with them on their camels if they had gone into exile), would have given him staggering wealth to distribute as booty, keeping his fifth, of course. Muḥammad was very careful to ensure that it was not looted. He allowed his warriors to use any of the captured weapons while the fighting continued, but demanded its return once fighting finished. Similarly, he allowed his men to eat from the captured foodstuffs, and to provide their horses with fodder, but only to satisfy their immediate needs each day, with no appropriation.[1383]

Even more bounteous was the annual harvest, half of which would stay with the locals and half would become his to apportion as booty. He took the dates and barley from the region of al-Katība for his *Khums*, leaving those from al-Naṭāt and al-Shiḳḳ for the Muslim warriors. He divided their booty into 1,800 financially equal amounts of annual produce (meaning half the produce from specific properties, the Jews keeping the other half), with foot-soldiers receiving one portion each and calvary men receiving one portion for themselves and two for each of their horses.[1384] A few men who had accompanied the Prophet to al-Ḥudaybiyya but were unable to journey

to Khaybar also received shares. To give an indication of the richness of the booty, al-Wāqidī mentions that the produce from al-Katība came to eight thousand barrels of dates, split equally between their growers and the Prophet, with three thousand measures of barley and one thousand measures of date-stones (which were ground and fed to camels) also being divided equally.[1385] Muḥammad kept a portion for his own discretionary spending and his chieftain duties, including bestowing largesse and hosting ambassadors and delegations, and used the rest for his family, orphans, the poor and those who struggled during travel (including his men on raids). Each amount was substantial. Muḥammad was able to give regular and generous amounts of both dates and barley to his numerous wives (eighty camel-loads of dates and twenty of barley to each[1386]) and to his relatives and close associates. Regarding the share of the produce that he gave to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Prophet specifically directed him to make this a *ḥabs*, an endowment, to use as a *ṣadaqa* for the betterment of the Islamic community. ‘Umar agreed without hesitation.

The big question remains as to why the Ghaṭafān did not support their allies in Khaybar as they had promised to do in return for either half or all of Khaybar’s dates for a year.[1387] In fact, it seems they started to do so, sending as many as four thousand warriors to Khaybar’s aid, but they withdrew without fighting after becoming concerned for their wives and children, whom they had left with their herds in an encampment at Ḥayfā’ in the desert. Hearing rumours that a Muslim force might actually attack them in their absence, they abandoned their march to Khaybar in order to return to defend their families.[1388] Al-Wāqidī even repeats a narration stating that the Ghaṭafān reached Khaybar, entering a fortress before suddenly — upon hearing a strange (unattributable and by inference supernatural) voice mentioning their families in Ḥayfā’ — leaving the oasis to return to their people.[1389] According to this narrative, the Ghaṭafān later blamed Muḥammad for having tricked them.[1390] Regardless, it is clear that their absence from the battle left Muḥammad and his warriors in a greatly strengthened position *vis-à-vis* their siege.

After it was all over, al-Wāqidī says, the Ghaṭafān fighting force returned to Khaybar, and its excitable leader ‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn asked Muḥammad for some of the booty, which he suggested he should receive for having chosen not to fight the Muslims. Muḥammad reminded him that they had intended

to do so, and had only returned home after hearing the rumour of their families' endangerment. Aware of 'Uyayna's ego and wanting to keep him on positive terms, he nonetheless gave him the mountain of Dhū Ruqayba.[1391]

If al-Wāqidī's account of 'Uyayna's and the Ghaṭafān's reappearance in Khaybar in the aftermath of the siege is trustworthy, then one can only see their passivity as evidence of the huge reputational boost as a warrior and leader that Muḥammad had gained from his taking of the oasis. In all probability, 'Uyayna had far more men at his disposal than Muḥammad's now jubilant but exhausted force, and might have thus have posed a serious threat, but he made no aggressive move against Muḥammad and clearly recognized his mastery of war.

So did the people of Fadak, a Jewish agricultural oasis northeast of Khaybar which produced dates, cereals and Fadakī velvet and other eponymous textiles (Abū Bakr is known to have possessed a lovely Fadakī cloak and the Prophet had a saddle-cover of Fadakī cloth).[1392] The Prophet had sent a raid against it in the past, ostensibly to deter it from considering allying with Khaybar.[1393] Now, according to al-Wāqidī, when the Prophet first moved against Khaybar, he sent Muḥayyiṣa ibn Mas'ūd to call the people of Fadak to accept Islam or face a campaign against them and their fields.[1394] Al-Balādhurī says that he only sent Muḥayyiṣa after he had taken Khaybar[1395], while Ibn Hishām (followed by al-Ṭabarī[1396]) says nothing about Muḥayyiṣa but comments that the fearful people of Fadak sought peace with the Prophet after he "had finished with Khaybar".[1397] To return to al-Wāqidī's timeline, which makes most sense, Muḥayyiṣa arrived in Fadak and called the inhabitations to make terms with Muḥammad, but they were not yet convinced that he would succeed in Khaybar, believing that its fortresses and the fighting quality of its defenders would prove too strong. They scoffed, and were dismissive of Muḥayyiṣa's efforts. However, after reports reached them of Muḥammad's first victory in Khaybar, the taking of the Nā'im fortress in al-Naṭāt, they became deeply nervous and offered Muḥayyiṣa jewels from their women if he would not disclose to Muḥammad what they had said. Muḥayyiṣa rejected their bribe and informed Muḥammad of everything. Muḥayyiṣa escorted to the Prophet a delegation of Jews led by Yūsha' ibn Nūn, who, after trying to negotiate better terms, concluded with Muḥammad an agreement identical to that

struck with Khaybar: without any religious obligations, they would keep half their agricultural produce and give the other half to the Prophet.[1398] Because no battle had occurred, Muḥammad was able to claim this rich bounty as *fay'*, meaning that he could keep it all without dividing it among his warriors as he would have to if it was taken in battle.[1399] Muḥammad nonetheless gave Muḥayyiṣa and his leading colleagues a reward for brokering the deal: thirty camel loads of dates and thirty of barley each.[1400] Coming on the heels of the Khaybar windfall, the Fadak agreement gave Muḥammad another massive jump in both wealth and power.[1401] He used his wealth according to the formula for the *Khums*, keeping a fifth as disposable income, which he mainly spent on hosting delegations and bestowing largesse, with the other four-fifths going to his family, the poor, the needy and travellers.[1402] He focused the *fay'* from Fadak on the latter: supporting the travellers who consumed their wealth traveling for pilgrimage, for family reasons, to escape famine, to migrate to Medina, to make their *Bay'a* to the Prophet, to travel on raids and campaigns, and so forth.[1403]

Muḥammad knew better than to return to Medina with unfinished business in the northern Jewish towns. Seizing the moment, he marched on Wādī al-Qurā, which, as its name (the Valley of Towns) suggests, was not a single town but a long, narrow and generally fertile valley that started around forty kilometers north of Medina and stretched in a northwest direction for perhaps 120 or more kilometers. It contained a series of towns and villages, principal of which was the town of al-Qurḥ, also known as al-Ṣa'īd and Ṣa'īd Qurḥ, near to the location of modern-day al-'Ulā.[1404] The march across the harsh terrain must have been exhausting, coming straight after four or five weeks of intense siege warfare, but none of the early sources provides any details beyond noting that Muḥammad and his mem were so utterly fatigued that, on one occasion, they missed their dawn prayer and had to pray it late.[1405] The Jews of Wādī al-Qurā had a treaty with the Tha'laba ibn Sa'd ibn Dhubyān, a subgroup of the Ghaṭafān, and one with the Banū 'Udhra, who protected Wādī al-Qurā from raiders from the nearby Banū Quḍā'a in return for one-third of their crops each year.[1406] Muḥammad's warriors fell upon them suddenly, catching them unprepared for any sustained resistance, certainly before any allies could come to their defence. They nonetheless put up a short but spirited defence for a few

days[1407], before, as al-Wāqidī writes, “Allah plundered their property and took a lot of furniture and goods” (“وغنَّمه اللهُ أموالَهم وأصابوا أثاثاً ومتاعاً كثيراً”).[1408] The locals fought with resolve and courage, showing, like Khaybar’s defenders, far more fighting spirit than any of Medina’s Jewish tribes had. They even lined up for a set-piece battle and bravely fought duels, before rejecting a call to Islam (by which they would have kept all their wealth), agreeing instead to submit to Muḥammad’s authority on the same terms as Khaybar had.[1409] This meant that the Jews retained their religion and their orchards and fields, but Muḥammad received half of their share of the agricultural produce (meaning one third of the total).[1410] Muḥammad kept the *Khums* and divided the rest among his warriors.

The Jewish inhabitants of the prosperous oasis town of Taymā’, a commercial waystation northwest of Wādī al-Qurā on the perceived border of Shām, were not inclined to be friendly to the Prophet and Islam, but when they learned how the Jews in Wādī al-Qurā had been treated after resisting, they voluntarily submitted to Muḥammad and were thus allowed to retain their lands on far better terms: the payment of *jizya*, an annual tribute.[1411] They were not compelled to change religion or modify any practices. They remained proudly Jewish, and are, in fact, known in Islamic sources for once having refused to let non-Jewish war refugees from the Ḥishna subgroup of Banū Balī settle in Taymā’ until they had converted to Judaism, which they did.[1412]

Thus, by June 628, Muḥammad had effectively disestablished all Jewish power in northern Arabia, not because it was Jewish — the Jews retained their religion, very few converted to Islam, and they lived unmolested so long as they kept to their agreements — but because that power existed independently of Islamic power, or more accurately, of Muḥammad’s power. Jewish towns that had never threatened Medina in the way that Khaybar did were still compelled, along with non-Jewish peoples, to be part of the growing polity that he was creating, even if that only meant paying tax or tribute and pledging allegiance to him, rather than to some other tribe or regional power. After all, very few cities, towns and people in the seventh century Near East were able to escape being included within an empire which asked them for loyalty, supportive trade relations, and tax or tribute. Unusually within the wider region, the Ḥijāz had long been free of a

unified or unifying power, with its most powerful tribes only exercising authority over certain areas. By mid-628, Muḥammad was well on his way to changing that, with his still un-named super-tribe controlling more and more of the Ḥijāz's many peoples, and within four more years, after Mecca and Ṭā'if had submitted to his authority, compelling even the few remaining independent Bedouin tribes to follow suit, his sphere of direct control and decisive influence covered the entire Ḥijāz and some of its bordering areas. No longer of much interest to Islamic historians, the Jews of the Ḥijāz lived under Muḥammad's leadership free of persecution and religious interference, and appear to have lived their daily lives more or less the same as they had in earlier days.

Conclusion When I commenced its research in 2010, this book's initial working title was *The Reluctant Warrior: Muḥammad and War*. **Based on substantial preliminary reading, especially of modern biographies of the Prophet and other secondary sources, the original hypothesis that I wanted to test was that Muḥammad so disliked war, mainly because of its intrinsic harmfulness, that he was always worried or cautious about war's transformational but unpredictable nature. He therefore tried to avoid armed conflict whenever he could, and adopted and retained a defensive strategy. Yet, after more than a decade of meticulous daily analysis of the earliest extant works of** *Sīrah***, the canonical** *aḥādīth***, and relevant early works of** *Fiqh***, it is clear to me that my original hypothesis cannot be sustained by a detached and even-handed reading of the evidence.**

Not that the earliest sources show that Muḥammad actually liked war. Indeed, they do not reveal him to have either liked or disliked it, or to have conveyed any particular thoughts on its nature or necessity, let alone to have developed and articulated a philosophically weighty judgment. Aside from often saying that "war is deception"[1413] — an observation reflecting the way that he used strategic and tactical deception as a reasonable, necessary and eminently legitimate means of gaining military advantage — Muḥammad said almost nothing about the activity that consumed so much of his time and attention for a decade.

He certainly never saw war as a "necessary evil." This concept was unknown to seventh-century Arabian chieftains who lived in a *milieu* in which warfare was commonplace yet capable of providing material benefit and social esteem. Moreover, as a religious prophet, it would have been unfitting for him to have undertaken *anything* evil, even if it provided significant advantage. For Muḥammad, the matter was clear: God commanded him to undertake the raids and battles that, in obedience, he duly undertook. This made them morally good, because anything commanded by God, who is the ultimate good, must itself be good.

That is not to suggest that Muḥammad saw all warfare as good or believed

that God Himself saw all warfare as such and therefore ordered him to undertake it because warfare is, like prayer or charity, inherently positive. The Qur'ān clearly speaks against badly intended wars; those conducted to oppress others, for example. The Qur'ān forbids those wars, which rendered them unjust in the minds of Muḥammad and his followers. The Qur'ān orders wars to oppose those types of aggression and oppression, with God's command to oppose them rendering Muḥammad's compliance morally good.

Yet understanding what the specific purpose and goodness was within Muḥammad's many wars and raids is not as straightforward as it might seem, unless one has an absolute and credulous confidence in the *Sīrah* sources' inferences that God ordered each and every one of the particular wars and raids that occurred. Yet, with a few exceptions — such as when the angel Jibrīl told Muḥammad to attack the Banū Qurayẓa — the sources never actually state that he fought all the battles because God had, each time, told him to do so. Instead, belief that God told him to do so comes from reversing the logic to determine a causality from the occurrence. In other words, the believing Muslim must reason that Muḥammad never did anything significant in the public domain without God having told him to do so. The fact that Muḥammad did many things in the public space means that, even when the sources do not state so explicitly, God must indeed have told him to do them. Happily, for believing Muslims, this logic conforms with what the Qur'ān states.

One cannot easily separate Muḥammad's own understanding and spoken words from the Qur'ānic revelation. They are inescapably connected and interdependent. Non-Muslims might believe that Muḥammad somehow "wrote the Qur'ān" — meaning that, with either sincerity or insincerity, he claimed his own words (from his own creative intellect) to be those of God — but even they would concede that, because Muḥammad maintained that God was speaking through him, he would be bound to live in accordance with the messages that he attributed to God. Inconsistency would destroy his credibility as a prophet. Muslims of course utterly reject the view that Muḥammad knowingly or unknowingly passed off his own thoughts as those of God. They have no doubt that God spoke His words through His Prophet's lips, those words having been conveyed from the celestial realm to the earthly realm by an angel. After all, the Qur'ān itself says in *Sūrah*

al-Najm 53:3 that Muḥammad does not “speak from his own desires, but only from a revelation brought forth.” In four similar verses, the Qur’ān also asks Muḥammad to affirm the phrase: “I only follow what is revealed to me.”[1414] Thus, regardless of which philosophical position one might take on Muḥammad’s prophethood, we can say with confidence that, if the Qur’ānic revelation identified an activity as morally good, Muḥammad conducted himself accordingly.

The Qur’ān is clear that warfare for Allah’s cause is, or at least was during Muḥammad’s lifetime, morally good. *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:216 says: كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَى أَن تَكْرَهُواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَى أَن تُحِبُّواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ وَاللّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنتُمْ لاَ تَعْلَمُونَ

> 216. Fighting has been prescribed for you although you dislike it, but perhaps you dislike a thing that is good for you, and perhaps you love a thing that is bad for you, and Allah knows what you do not know.”

Understanding why Allah ordered Muḥammad to undertake warfare is also not straightforward. Clearly self-defence was necessary when his polity or people came under attack, and, by extension, any pre-emptive fighting could be considered defensive when a clear threat emerged and was sufficiently dangerous. We have seen above how the Qur’ān contains instructions to fight self-defensively. Yet Muḥammad also initiated very many offensive raids and campaigns, which he considered morally good because they were undertaken in Allah’s cause.

The earliest sources do not explain in any developed and meaningful way what precisely that cause was. Was it to create a state? Was it to create a religion? Was it both, or to accomplish something else? Without clear guidance from the early sources, scholars must use reason and judgment when piecing together an explanation from the few statements of overarching strategy found in those sources. Ibn Hishām has two significant statements on war. The first relates to Muḥammad’s first period of prophethood, before the *Hijra*, when he was powerless in Mecca and incapable of warfare. Ibn Hishām writes: “The Messenger of Allah s had not been permitted to go to war or to shed blood before [the Second Pledge of] al-‘Aqaba. He had simply been ordered to call men to Allah, to be patient when insulted, and to forgive the ignorant.”[1415] This is understandable. He was weak and oppressed, and had no chance of growing a significant

community of believers in Mecca. Later, referring to the Medinan period after the *Hijra*, Ibn Hishām reveals a very different situation. He quotes Abū Bakr, Muḥammad's closest companion and his first successor as Leader of the Believers, summarizing the use of force in this fashion: "Allah sent Muḥammad s with this religion and he exerted himself for it until men accepted it voluntarily *or by force*" ("إن الله عز وجل بعث محمداً s بهذا الدين، فجاهد عليه حتى دخل الناس فيه طوعاً وكرهاً").[1416] Ibn Hishām adds that "once they had entered Islam, they were Allah's wards and neighbours under His protection."

Ibn Hishām's statement that Muḥammad's religious mission included coercion has received surprisingly little attention given that it flies in the face of the widespread Islamic belief that Islam forbids religious coercion. As noted above, that belief is based on an unambiguous statement in the Qur'ān: "There is no compulsion in religion" ("لاَ إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ").[1417] However, like al-Wāqidī, Ibn Hishām provides the historical context of literally hundreds of Qur'ānic verses in his highly influential biography of the Prophet, yet he does not quote that verse — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256, stating that there is no compulsion in religion — even once. This seems to be a conscious omission, especially given the fact that Ibn Hishām, unlike al-Wāqidī, quotes Abū Bakr saying that the Prophet in fact exerted himself (*jahada*) to spread Islam until people "accepted it voluntarily or by force".

Abū Bakr's statement in Ibn Hishām's book seems instead to align more closely with a different Qur'ānic verse that some exegetes claim abrogates *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256. That verse, *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:29 states: قَاتِلُواْ الَّذِينَ لاَ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِاللّهِ وَلاَ بِالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَلاَ يُحَرِّمُونَ مَا حَرَّمَ اللّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ وَلاَ يَدِينُونَ دِينَ الْحَقِّ مِنَ الَّذِينَ أُوتُواْ الْكِتَابَ حَتَّى يُعْطُواْ الْجِزْيَةَ عَن يَدٍ وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ

> 29. Fight those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day, and who do not treat as forbidden the things that Allah and His Messenger have forbidden, nor acknowledge the religion of truth, from among the People of the Book, until they pay the *jizya* willingly while they are humiliated.

Revealed after the conquest of Mecca and the Battle of Ḥunayn in early 630 CE (mentioned only four verses earlier), this verse seems to present warfare as God's commanded means of Muḥammad and his followers imposing

their authority over those Jews and Christians ("the People of the Book") who rejected key teachings or undertook prohibited activities (presumably meaning performing their rites in Mecca). Yet it does not say that conversion from Judaism and Christianity to Islam was the desired outcome; only that the Jews and Christians should be fought if they would not accept being included within the new Islamic polity as subordinated peoples who were obliged to pay *jizya* instead of *zakat*. This verse itself is echoed in a widely cited *ḥadīth* (of which there are several variations): Allah's Messenger ﷺ said, "I have been ordered to fight the people until they say, 'There is no God except Allah,' and whoever says, 'There is no God except Allah,' his life and property will be protected from me, except for what is [mine] by right, and his reckoning will be with Allah."[1418]

Interestingly, one variation of this *ḥadīth* does not refer generically to "the people" as the recipients of the required coercive force. Instead, it refers far more specifically to "the polytheists (المشركون, *al-Mushrikūn*) being the targets of coercion.[1419] This phrase denotes pagans who worshipped more than one deity, but not Jews and Christians, who were among the monotheistic People of the Book specifically mentioned in *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:29. This complicates the problem of identifying which people or peoples were supposed to be fought until they declared belief in Allah alone. The Qur'ān identifies some of the Jews and Christian being fought until they submit and pay *jizya*. Yet most variants of this *ḥadīth* identify only "the people," who must submit and pay *zakat*, with the aforementioned exception identifying "the polytheists" (which Jews and Christians certainly were not) being fought until they submitted. The variants mention the targeted people having to pray as Muslims pray, face the same direction when they do so, observe the Islamic dietary rules, and pay *zakat*. Logic dictates that the meaning of these practice-specific variations of the *ḥadīth* is that Muḥammad must continue to fight — that is, to engage in warfare — until the non-Muslim peoples become Muslims.

Trying to untangle these differing but authoritative statements leads one to conclude that warfare was to be undertaken until monotheists (including Jews and Christians, the People of the book) submitted to Muḥammad or the Islamic polity (which during his lifetime meant essentially the same thing), without having to abandon their religions, so long as they agreed to

accept their status as protected but subordinate peoples who paid *jizya* instead of *zakat*. Warfare was also to be undertaken until polytheists adopted the beliefs and practices of Islam and began paying *zakat*.

The strange thing is that, despite this apparent mission, the *Sīrah* sources reveal very few cases of Muḥammad seeming to have coerced with the threat or use of armed force any peoples into becoming Muslims. Indeed, there are only two main cases to consider.

As noted above, the sources mention a mutually unfriendly verbal exchange between Muḥammad and the Banū Qaynuqā‘ soon after he had arrived back in Medina following the Battle of Badr. The sources assert that the Prophet ordered the Qaynuqā‘ to gather in their market, where he bluntly demanded that they accept Islam before they suffered the same fate as the Quraysh had at Badr (literally, to quote al-Wāqidī, “before Allah inflicts upon you what He inflicted on the Quraysh”).[1420] They refused, became antagonistic, and duly suffered attack.

One cannot say that this case of religious coercion did not occur. The earliest extant sources say that it did. But one can certainly say that, if it did occur, and in the manner described, it would have been inconsistent with the pattern of Muḥammad’s treatment of Jews, which involved on almost every other known occasion the imposition of *jizya* without the insistence on religious conversion. The clearest statement of Muḥammad’s unwillingness to coerce Jews and Christians into changing religion is found in his letter to the people of Ḥimyar, sent during the Year of the Deputations (after the conquest of Mecca, when, according to Ibn Hishām, “the Arabs knew that they could not fight the Messenger of Allah s or display enmity to him [so] they entered into Allah’s religion”[1421]). The letter states in part: “He who holds fast to his religion, Jew or Christian, is not to be turned from it. He must pay the *jizya*; for every adult, male or female, free or slave, one dinar”.[1422]

A good example of Muḥammad’s non-coercive attitude towards the Jews was the rather friendly letter he had written to Khaybar’s Jews at some point before they had taken in the Banū al-Naḍīr leaders and then become aggressive and threatening. It was their conspiring and warfare against him that later sealed their fate, not their religious confession and practices. In his letter, before those worst of days, he had explained that he was a prophet of the One God and a brother of Moses, whose revelation he affirmed.[1423] He

was himself mentioned in the Jewish holy book, he said, although (drawing loosely upon *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256) he added that "if you do not find that written in your book, then there is no compulsion on you."

The other reported exception to his pattern of non-coercion occurred, according to al-Wāqidī (but not Ibn Hishām), when the Prophet sent Muḥayyiṣa ibn Mas'ūd to call the Jews of Fadak to accept Islam or else they would face a campaign against them and their fields.[1424] But one sees in this case a strange outcome. The Jews of Fadak did not become Muslims, and they were not attacked. They chose to stay as Jews and agreed instead to negotiate with Muḥammad the division of their crops with him. He accepted their submission and tribute but, in keeping with his treatment of the Jews of Khaybar, he made no religious demands whatsoever. It was the same with the Jews of Wādī al-Qurā. They rejected an invitation to Islam, suffered losses in battle, and consequently also agreed to apportion crops to Muḥammad without any modification of their religious life. The Jews of Taymā', and later the Jews of Maqnā, Adhruḥ and Jarbā, submitted to Muḥammad's authority and agreed to pay *jizya* or a contribution of agricultural produce, without any of them suffering attack. They all stayed proudly Jewish, and suffered no religious pressure to convert, much less any molestation for refusing. Thus, it seems that Muḥammad was uninterested in forcedly converting Jews, who were already believers in the One God, but merely wanted to include them in his burgeoning polity. Rather than have them as pockets of potential resistance, or as economic non-contributors, he wanted their agreement that they were not oppositional and would contribute economically, like everyone else did. The Jews who remained in Medina after the siege of the Banū Qurayẓa are proof of this policy. Because of their agreement [*muwāda'a*] with the Prophet, they paid tax and were protected in return.

Muḥammad treated polytheists and pagans a little differently. Unlike the People of the Book, whose agreeable monotheism allowed them to exist far more seamlessly within and around the emerging Islamic polity, polytheists and pagans were jarringly different to Muslims. Their worship of more than one god or goddess, or of a different deity to the god of the Jews, Christians and Muslims, violated the central belief of Islam: that the One God was the only god and that He felt offended by claims to the contrary.

In line with this logic, during the conquest of Mecca in January 630,

Muḥammad declared Mecca a city for the worship of Allah alone. He was at that time gentle and patient with any polytheistic and pagan Meccans who needed time to decide whether the strict monotheism that he preached was something they could accept. He took their pledge of loyalty to his personal leadership, but, as noted above, he even gave his most bitter former enemies a period of grace to decide whether they would make suitable religious changes.

Yet he also dispatched armed forces to destroy pagan shrines throughout the Ḥijāz, even in areas that were not yet fully subject to his authority. For example, after Jarīr ibn ʻAbdullāh of the Banū Bajīlah and 150 of his men came to him in Medina and accepted Islam, he sent them to destroy the idol Dhū l-Khalaṣah which the Bajīlah and other tribes still worshipped and considered a source of unity and inspiration.[1425] The shrine to the idol was known as the Kaʻba of Yemen.[1426] Significant fighting occurred.

He even began to send out raiding parties to take Islam to groups on the southern fringes of his polity that had not yet become Muslims. For instance, when Ṣurad ibn ʻAbdullāh of the Banū Azd Shanū'ah came to him with a small group of warriors, and accepted Islam and pledged allegiance, Muḥammad sent them back to their territory with instructions to fight the polytheists there.[1427] Ṣurad accordingly attacked Jurash, a fortified town in Yemen, investing it for a month until, after feigning a withdrawal, he inflicted significant losses on the fighters who left the city's protection. The people of Jurash eventually sent delegates to the Prophet, agreeing to accept Islam.

In March 632, over two years after the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad felt it was time to enforce the sanctity of Mecca's *ḥaram* and he began to exclude all polytheists and pagans from entering Mecca.[1428] They could no longer make non-Islamic pilgrimages, or perform non-Islamic rituals (which in Mecca reportedly included circumambulating naked around the Kaʻba). Muḥammad declared their exclusion in accordance with the Qur'ānic revelation now numbered as *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:17-18 and 28, which says: مَا كَانَ لِلْمُشْرِكِينَ أَن يَعْمُرُواْ مَسَاجِدَ الله شَاهِدِينَ عَلَى أَنفُسِهِمْ بِالْكُفْرِ أُوْلَئِكَ حَبِطَتْ أَعْمَالُهُمْ وَفِي النَّارِ هُمْ خَالِدُونَ

إِنَّمَا يَعْمُرُ مَسَاجِدَ اللّهِ مَنْ آمَنَ بِاللّهِ وَالْيَوْمِ الآخِرِ وَأَقَامَ الصَّلاَةَ وَآتَى الزَّكَاةَ وَلَمْ يَخْشَ إِلاَّ اللّهَ فَعَسَى أُوْلَـئِكَ أَن يَكُونُواْ مِنَ

الْمُهْتَدِينَ …

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ إِنَّمَا الْمُشْرِكُونَ نَجَسٌ فَلاَ يَقْرَبُواْ الْمَسْجِدَ الْحَرَامَ بَعْدَ عَامِهِمْ هَـذَا وَإِنْ خِفْتُمْ عَيْلَةً فَسَوْفَ يُغْنِيكُمُ اللّهُ مِن فَضْلِهِ إِن شَاء إِنَّ اللّهَ عَلِيمٌ حَكِيمٌ

17. It is not [right] for polytheists that they maintain [access to] Allah's mosques while their unbelief witnesses against them. For them, their deeds are worthless, and they will abide in the fire forever.

18. Allah's mosques should be attended only by those who believe in Allah and the Last Day, who observe the prayers and give *zakat* and fear none but Allah. Then perhaps they are among the guided ones. …

28. O you who believe, truly the polytheists are [ritually] unclean, so do not let them, after this year of theirs, approach the Holy Mosque. And if you fear poverty, Allah will soon enrich you out of His bounty, if He wills, because Allah is all-Knowing and all-Wise.

The reference to poverty relates to the concern that the ending of polytheistic pilgrimages to Mecca would have a negative economic impact on the city.

In accordance with a Qur'ānic revelation which some people nowadays call the Verse of the Sword, Muḥammad warned polytheists that they must either leave the Islamic sacred spaces for other parts of Arabia or accept Islam if they wanted to stay. He gave them a grace period of four months to decide (these presumably being that year's three consecutive Sacred Months when no fighting was permitted: Dhū l-Qa'da, Dhū l-Ḥijja, and al-Muḥarram, and the other sacred month of Rajab). If they remained after those months, the guarantees of safety inherent in the existing pilgrimage agreements would cease[1429], and they could be slain wherever they were found. *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:5 expresses it thus: فَإِذَا انسَلَخَ الأَشْهُرُ الْحُرُمُ فَاقْتُلُواْ الْمُشْرِكِينَ حَيْثُ وَجَدتُّمُوهُمْ وَخُذُوهُمْ وَاحْصُرُوهُمْ وَاقْعُدُواْ لَهُمْ كُلَّ مَرْصَدٍ فَإِن تَابُواْ وَأَقَامُواْ الصَّلاَةَ وَآتَوُاْ الزَّكَاةَ فَخَلُّواْ سَبِيلَهُمْ إِنَّ اللّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ

5. Then, when the sacred months are past, kill the polytheists wherever you find them, and seize them, restrain them, and lie and wait for them in every place of ambush. But if they repent and establish the prayers, and pay the *zakat*, then leave them alone.

This may sound rather brutal, and certainly the verse is routinely presented by Islam's critics as evidence of the religion's inherent militaristic and violent teachings. Yet, when read in context, it is clear that the Verse of the Sword is framed by verses of tolerance and conciliation that rob it of its sting. Verse 4 makes clear that during the four-month period of amnesty, polytheists or idolaters in and around the Islamic sacred spaces were to be left untouched so that Muslims would not themselves become promise-breakers ("So fulfil your agreements with them to the end of the term, for Allah loves the righteous", فَأَتِمُّواْ إِلَيْهِمْ عَهْدَهُمْ إِلَى مُدَّتِهِمْ إِنَّ اللّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُتَّقِينَ). After clarifying that the threatened violence would apply only to those who had ignored the warnings and continued to practice polytheism or idolatry in and around the holy city and its sanctuary, and were still foolish enough not to have left after four months, Verse 5 — the sword verse — clearly warned them that there would be a violent military purging or purification in which they seriously risked being killed.

Although it is sometimes omitted by critics of the Verse of the Sword, the verse's secondary clause — after the direction to root out and kill anyone who had ignored the clear and solemn warnings and continued their polytheism or idolatry in the sacred city — enjoined Muslims to remember that they must leave alone (literally, "open the way for", فَخَلُّواْ سَبِيلَهُمْ) those who chose to live as Muslims. Moreover, the Verse of the Sword is immediately followed by an unusually charitable one — again seldom mentioned by Islam's critics — in which any polytheists who preferred not to become Muslims and asked for asylum during any coming violence were not only to be excluded from that violence, but were to be escorted to a place of safety.

وَإِنْ أَحَدٌ مِّنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ اسْتَجَارَكَ فَأَجِرْهُ حَتَّى يَسْمَعَ كَلاَمَ اللّهِ ثُمَّ أَبْلِغْهُ مَأْمَنَهُ ذَلِكَ بِأَنَّهُمْ قَوْمٌ لاَّ يَعْلَمُونَ

> 6. If anyone among the polytheists seeks your protection, grant protection to him, so that he may hear the words of Allah; and then escort him to where he can be secure. That is because they are people who do not know [the truth about Islam]. [1430]

Even those critics of Islam who see this policy as intolerant, meaning that it opposes modern concepts of religious freedom and pluralism by creating a

religious exclusivity in Mecca, will not be able to find in the earliest extant *Sīrah* sources a single case of religiously motivated persecution, much less killing, in Mecca during the remainder of the Prophet's life. There is not one case. It would seem that several poets who had publicly mocked and disparaged him were executed, and that the two other non-Muslim poets in Mecca fled for their lives.[1431] Yet this strict punishment was for active propagandizing, not for ongoing polytheism. It would instead seem that polytheists throughout the Ḥijāz and wider Arabia fully understood that they could no longer make pilgrimages to Mecca, and wisely they did not force the issue. Any remaining polytheists or pagans in Mecca — and Medina, for that matter — exercised their right to choose and either converted to Islam, allowing them to remain where they were, or safely departed for other parts of Arabia or beyond.

Some but not a majority of the classical Islamic scholars of *Fiqh* argued that the Verse of the Sword and other militant-seeming passages, revealed very late in Muḥammad's life, abrogated or repealed all peaceful, inclusive and tolerant early passages. Their claim has found its way into many modern books critical of Islam. Abrogation (نسخ, *Naskh*) is indeed a legitimate concept within the Islamic *Sharī'a*.[1432] While Muslim scholars hold the Qur'ān to be God's literal, definitive and final revelation to humans, they recognise that it is not intended to be read as a systematic legal or moral treatise. They understand it to be a discursive commentary on the stage-by-stage actions and experiences of the Prophet Muḥammad, his ever-increasing number of followers and his steadily decreasing number of opponents over the twenty-three year period which took him from his first revelation to his hegemony in the Ḥijāz.[1433] Consequently, they accept that several legal rulings within the Qur'ān emerged or developed in stages throughout that period, with some early rulings on inheritance, alcohol, law, social arrangements and so on being superseded by later passages; a process of abrogation that the Qur'ān itself describes. For example, *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:106 states that when God developed any particular legal ruling beyond its first revelation, and therefore wanted to supersede the original verses, God would replace them with clarifying verses.[1434]

Despite many triumphalist Islamic jurists arguing during the Middle Ages — after Islamic armies had victoriously expanded Islamic power and

influence at an unprecedented rate over a vast area — that the Verse of the Sword and similar later verses abrogated all earlier peaceful and tolerant verses, Muḥammad's own life does not show that he understood things in this way. He did not develop a subjugational, let alone a kill-non-Muslims-anywhere, mentality or habit. After the increasingly small number of polytheists had safely left Mecca and Medina or adopted Islam in order to remain there, in accordance with the Verse of the Sword's dramatic warning, the context of that verse essentially disappeared, and there is no evidence from the *Sīrah* to show that Muḥammad saw it differently. He did not order ambush-based missions to slay polytheists elsewhere in Arabia. Indeed, aside from instructing Usāma ibn Zayd to lead a raiding party north to Mu'ta to avenge the death of Zayd, Ja'far, and others, the Prophet ordered no further raids at all before he fell ill and died later in the year. It hardly needs pointing out that Usāma's raid, although an offensive to gain revenge, was not aimed to kill polytheists for the reason that they were polytheists.

Muḥammad believed that the End of Days was imminent, and that he had an urgent and very solemn mission to ensure that as few people as possible would fail to meet God's requirements and be flung into hellfire. He dearly wanted to save everyone in his area of influence from this dreadful fate, regardless of whether they recognized their peril. He was therefore forceful at times with people about their need to give serious consideration to Islam. Because of his intense sense of urgency, and his desire to save as many people as possible from damnation, Muḥammad did indeed want non-Muslims to become Muslims, and both of the final two raiding parties that he ever dispatched — at around the same time as he was warning polytheists that Mecca and Medina's sacred spaces were off-limits to them, upon risk of death — had the intention to expand the extent and influence of his ever-growing polity, but hopefully with the newly included peoples coming into it as believers. Importantly, challenging the view that *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:5 represented a new policy of aggressive military coercion everywhere, neither of the final two military missions to polytheists involved "waiting for them in every place of ambush" so that they could be killed wherever they were found.

It will be remembered that, in June 631, the Prophet sent Khālid ibn al-Walīd to the Banū Harith ibn Ka'b, who lived around Najrān, far south of

Mecca. Leaving alone the Christians who had already established friendly relations with him and were paying a modest tribute, Muḥammad instructed Khālid to invite the others in the region to Islam. If they refused his call, Muḥammad said, Khālid was to wait three days before using any force to facilitate their submission to Muḥammad's authority (and ideally their conversion to Islam).[1435] The call to Islam, and the three days to reflect upon it, was a sign of Muḥammad's hope that, if given time to reflect upon the costs and outcome of a battle against Muḥammad's community, now the only show in town, they would accept a different type of settlement. Hopefully, the call itself would be enough. As it turned out, it was. When Khālid invited them to Islam, they all accepted. Clearly this mission was not a kill-them-where-you-find-them ambush.

A little later, in December 631, Muḥammad sent ʻAli ibn Abī Ṭālib and three hundred warriors to the people of Madhḥij in Yemen in order to take the Islamic message there. He wanted ʻAli *not* to fight them, unless they attacked first, which would necessitate defensive fighting. His instructions are revealing: When the Messenger of Allah ﷺ directed ʻAli, he said to depart and do not turn back. ʻAli said, "O Messenger of Allah, what should I do?" He [the Prophet] said, "When you arrive in their area, do not fight them unless they fight you. Even if they attack you, do not fight back unless they kill one of you. If they kill one of you, do not fight them or blame them, but be patient with them. Say to them, 'Will you say that there is no god but Allah?' And if they say yes, ask them, 'Will you pray?' And if they say yes, ask them, "Will you take some of what you own to give as charity to the poor?' And if they say yes, do not wish for anything else. By Allah, may He guide a man by your hand. It is better for you than whatever the sun rises or sets on."[1436]

As mentioned above, ʻAli went on to seize booty (women, children and herds) from the Banū al-Nakhaʻ's shepherds before making his call to Islam, which shows that the taking of booty was still a highly esteemed activity seen as a reward from God.[1437] But he did so without meeting any armed resistance. When his party then encountered the main tribe itself, as opposed to the outlying shepherds and their families, ʻAli called them to Islam without threat. "But they refused," according to al-Wāqidī, "and aimed [arrows] at his men." Yet ʻAli still waited, and, in compliance with the Prophet's instruction, only allowed battle after a man from the Banū al-

Nakha‘ killed a Muslim whom he had challenged to a duel. During the ensuing battle, the Muslims killed twenty of those who were firing arrows at them. Then the Nakha’’s leaders, not wanting further bloodshed, came forward and accepted Islam when ‘Ali offered it a second time. Once again, this mission was not a kill-them-where-you-find-them ambush.

It is thus clear that the so-called Verse of the Sword does not represent a universal instruction for Muslims to lay in wait for all polytheists and to kill them as soon as they find them. That does not mean that Muḥammad ignored the value that ruse or bluff played in convincing non-Muslims that Islam was too powerful a force in Arabia to ignore. After all, he frequently said that “war is deception”. If a tribal group observed the power of his raiding parties or campaigning forces, they might just feel inclined to give this new set of religious beliefs, many of them unfamiliar, far more consideration. Power and military success mattered in the seventh century, and its ability to impress cannot be overstated. Muḥammad therefore used or allowed the threat of armed force to convey his seriousness to uncertain or stubborn individuals and peoples.

As we have seen, the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb accepted Islam shortly before the surrender of Mecca after reportedly being told by Muḥammad’s uncle al-‘Abbas, “‘Submit and testify that there is no god but Allah and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah before you lose your head,’ so he did so.”[1438] This threat of death seems more likely to have been a later ‘Abbāsid propaganda story designed to defame Abū Sufyān, the father of the Umayyads, and enhance the reputation of al-‘Abbas, whose descendants founded the ‘Abbāsid Empire. Yet if it actually happened, it must have been no more than a ruse; a piece of political theater. Muḥammad then had no intention of killing Abū Sufyān, whose support he would need when he entered Mecca and called the Meccans to submit to his authority.

Likewise, when a delegation of the Banū Tamīm came to the Prophet in the Year of the Deputations (approximately April 630 to April 631), Muḥammad’s orator Thābit ibn Qays ibn al-Shammās proclaimed to the Tamīm, *inter alia*: “We are Allah’s assistants and the assistants of Allah’s Messenger and we will fight men until they believe in Allah; and he who believes in Allah and His Messenger has protected his life and property from us; and he who disbelieves in Allah we will fight unceasingly, and

killing him will be a small matter to us."[1439] While again this sounds militant, religiously coercive and rather un-prophetlike, a few observations are warranted. First, Muḥammad did not say it; Thābit did. Second, the context is important. When the Banū Tamīm delegation had first arrived at the Prophet's Mosque, it had demanded, according to tribal custom, to enter a poetic "boasting competition" with Muḥammad's poets and orators. "Muḥammad," they had cried out. "Come out to us. We have come to compete with you in boasting, so give permission to our poet and our orator."[1440] After granting permission, and hearing the Tamīm's poet boast, Muḥammad turned to Thābit and told him to reply. The seemingly aggressive statement thus formed part of an oratorial boasting contest. It was an exaggeration, designed to impress a warlike people. As it happened, after the Tamīm's poet replied to Thābit's boasts, Muḥammad must have felt that Thābit's oratory had been inadequate. He sent a messenger to find Ḥāssan ibn Thābit, his favourite poet, so that Ḥāssan could do verbal battle on Islam's behalf. After he arrived, Ḥāssan proved so successful with his hyperbolic and boastful verses on Islam's military prowess (and the Prophet's nobility) that the Tamīm, deeply impressed, accepted Islam.[1441]

The sources thus show that, although Muḥammad understood the power of intimidation and fear that military success brought, and used that power to enhance his reputation as a man of substance who should not be trifled with, much less militarily opposed, he did not use military force as his primary means of winning people to Islam, meaning forcing them to convert via the threat or use of warfare. He much preferred to attract people to Islam by communicating its inherent truths and its promises of both worldly and heavenly rewards.

He sometimes used military force defensively, mainly against the Quraysh (and their allies), who wanted revenge for the Islamic victory at Badr, to maintain their level of power relative to other tribes, and to preserve the integrity of their essential trading operations. Yet more often he used military force offensively to increase the geographical expanse of his political authority, desiring for the increasing number of people for whom he was responsible the greatest achievable security, stability and prosperity. For several years after migrating to Medina in 622 CE, he sought to create a strategic buffer zone around Medina and its grazing pastures, and thus threatened or used warfare to intimidate or impress tribes and groups

around the expanding periphery of his area of control into forming peaceful arrangements with him and to deter them from grazing their herds within that area or from raiding the herds for which he was responsible. He also increasingly used the threat or use of force to weaken the hold that other cities, especially Mecca and Ṭā'if in the south and Khaybar in the north, had over the Bedouin tribes with whom they had either martial or transportation arrangements. He wanted these tribes beneath his own authority, aware that, in addition to creating safe trade routes and logistical capacity, harnessing their phenomenal energy and fighting spirit would give him the means of expanding even further to the north and south.

These goals — and, no less importantly, the acquisition of the booty needed to fund the new polity, improve the living standards of his followers, and satisfy Arabian social expectations — could only be achieved through offensive warfare. Muḥammad understood that, when war occurred, he had to conduct it with vigour, focus and assertiveness. "O Prophet," the Qur'ān instructs him in *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:73, "Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be resolute against them."[1442] Because defensive actions seldom brought decisive results, meaning positive changes in the strategic situation, Muḥammad insisted that all military operations must be directed offensively whenever possible in order to gain, retain and exploit both freedom of action and initiative. By doing so, the opponents would be forced always to react to Muslim actions, rather than be able to conduct their own.

Resolute offensive action would also — as the Qur'ān says in *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:60 — "create fear in the enemies of Allah and your enemy" (تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدْوَّ اللّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ)[1443] and firmly deter other enemies who might want to copy their aggressive actions. *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:57 states: فَإِمَّا تَثْقَفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْحَرْبِ فَشَرِّدْ بِهِم مَّنْ خَلْفَهُمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَذَّكَّرُونَ

> 57. If you are powerful against them in warfare, deal with them [resolutely] to deter those who might come behind them, so that they may take heed.[1444]

Muḥammad correctly understood that frightening an enemy into deciding not to fight or behave threateningly or recklessly was an ideal way of preventing bloodshed on both sides. He felt satisfied that, through resolute and frequent offensive actions, many of them being intended only as

casualty-light demonstrations of strength, any potential enemies knew better than to cause serious trouble. He listed his ability “to strike fear into them [his enemies] from as far away as a month of journeying” as one of his unique attributes as a prophet.[1445]

Lest any readers still feel uncomfortable with the knowledge that Muḥammad initiated many offensive missions, it is worth re-emphasizing that in both the Islamic concept of the Jihād and its western counterpart, Just War, there is no immorality automatically attached to the offensive and no goodness automatically attached to the defensive. This is merely a popular misconception. What might we think, for example, about Nazi soldiers defending themselves from outside attack in a death camp where they had been killing innocent Jews? That their defensive status made them just? What might we think of the attackers who initiated an offensive to destroy them? That their aggression made them unjust? This is an extreme case, of course, to demonstrate the point. But history reveals countless examples of military forces initiating offensive operations against opponents for manifestly just reasons, and of defenders who were ordinarily militarily passive yet involved in oppressive or cruel behaviour against their own or other people. Both codes of justice, Islamic and Western, therefore hold that the initiation of an offensive act by an armed force is only permissible if its purpose is to address a wrong already committed or likely to occur if not deterred (as understood by a sincere analysis of evidence). They also argue that, for the people or polity to remain just when it undertakes such an act, it should be doing so for the cause of justice and not for reasons of self-interest or self-glorification. But even this is complicated by the fact that the leaders of a people have a solemn responsibility to provide *their* people with as much security, stability and prosperity as they can. Indeed, this is a weighty moral responsibility. In that sense, the relationship between self-interest and right intention can be confusing and is often subjectively and differently understood by both sides during conflict. It would make no sense to maintain that the moral worthiness of a leader’s intention can only gained by favouring another people over one’s own. To Muḥammad, *his* people’s survival, security and welfare were his greatest responsibilities. In an environment of intense and ubiquitous competition and constant threats, he acted rationally and responsibly by constantly striving to enhance the conditions of his own people.

All these observations of Muḥammad's use of armed force allow the tentative construction of an explanatory framework or theory of strategy, even though it is impossible to demonstrate that Muḥammad articulated his views on politics or strategy in this or any other way. As noted above, we simply have no records that quote him outlining his theory of politics and the role of warfare within it. Yet from his actions it is clear that he understood that the tribe was the primary unit of power in Arabia, and that the tribes and subtribes occupying the Ḥijāz and bordering areas existed in complex relationships that were ordinarily competitive rather than cooperative. Without a dominant, let alone a hegemonic, power to impose stability and order over all, those relationships tended to be volatile and frequently changing, which meant that the somewhat anarchic environment was always complex and uncertain. Threats were omnipresent. All the tribal groups had the ability to employ armed force against others (meaning that they could count on their male adults to take up arms when threatened or incentivized), although smaller groups naturally understood that their relative weakness made their use of force highly risky. Muḥammad could not help but observe that, although tribal groups might seek to form mutually beneficial relations with certain others for specific purposes (defense, trade, transportation, the sharing of resources, and so on), and smaller tribes might seek the protection of stronger groups, a tribe could never be entirely sure of the motives of those around it. Given that all the tribes had their own survival as a driving impulse, they continuously monitored the environment for the emergence of new threats and increases in the existing threats, and ceaselessly sought opportunities to maximize their prospects for survival in the face of those threats.

Within an environment like this, one might imagine that a tribe or subtribe might adopt a basically defensive approach to its security, meaning that it becomes aware of the risks around it and consequently acts with moderation and caution so as not to provoke threats to its survival by itself appearing aggressive, threatening or too strong. Put another way, because tribal units would most likely cluster together against any tribe that seems to have expansionist or hegemonic ambitions, they would all try to avoid the appearance of any significant expansionism of their own, seeing it as self-defeating in that it actually increases risks and threats that would jeopardize their security.

Based on the consistency within the pattern of his actions, it seems clear that the Prophet saw these matters differently, and adopted a basically offensive approach to Islam's security, meaning that, aware of the highly competitive nature of Arabia's peoples and the ever-present threats to his own people, he continually sought opportunities to expand his power and influence to the greatest extent possible by acquiring additional increases of power at the expense of real and potential rivals. According to this type of logic, the more significant military advantage that his "tribe" could gain over others, the greater its security would become and the better its prospects would be if attacked. Becoming a regional hegemon would mean that rivals would have limited or no ability to create serious security threats or to hold, even if they tried to unite, any meaningful oppositional power. Peace would emerge and prevail as the status quo.

Muḥammad possessed no *animus dominandi*, or personal lust for power, but instead merely appreciated that, because Arabia lacked an ultimate authority akin to a government that could adjudicate disputes and apply laws and a concept of justice to all people with equal effect, he would have to resort to the type of self-help approach that he saw Arabia's other tribes operating. Taking responsibility for their own wellbeing, the tribes provided their members with the maximum safety, security, stability and prosperity that they could achieve through commercial competition, arms and alliances. Muḥammad believed that his nascent community would only survive as a type of tribe if it mastered the realities of this self-help system and continuously maximized its power and influence in order to gain and retain security and to keep rivals from acquiring additional power at its expense. If the Islamic polity could emerge as the strongest power within and immediately beyond the Ḥijāz, ideally as the hegemon, then it could guarantee its survival and provide its people with security, stability and prosperity. In other words, Muḥammad sought ever more power not because he was aggressive — he much preferred diplomacy to warfare — but because the environment required it. That is, he adopted an offensive strategy not because he liked war and the domination of others that it could bring, but because a strategy of maximizing security through obtaining more power than rivals was the most rational response to the essentially anarchic and competitive environment in which he lived.

This naturally led other peoples — aware that increases in the power and

influence of Muḥammad's super-tribe were causing a relative reduction in their own power and influence — to take steps to increase their own security. This impetus certainly led to various campaigns against the Islamic polity, including the Quraysh's coalition attacks that we now call the Battles of Uḥud and the Trench, and the Hawāzin and Thaqīf tribes' coalition that marched against Muḥammad after the Conquest of Mecca, leading to the Battle of Ḥunayn and the Siege of Ṭā'if.

Yet one can see that, on balance, Muḥammad's approach to security worked extremely well, and, by continually seeking to maximize his polity's power and influence at the relative expense of potential and actual rivals and opponents — and by working skilfully to separate those rivals from the strength that they might gain from existing or new alliances — by the end of his life he had secured for Islam significant hegemony in the Ḥijāz and its bordering areas.

There is, of course, a significant difference between *being* a hegemon and *competing to become* one. The first situation, with a polity being the dominant power in a region, is likely to ensure continuous security and prosperity for its people. The second situation, with a polity trying to surpass rivals in the acquisition of power in order to become the dominant power, is likely to place its own security and prosperity at risk by making other peoples or powers feel so threatened that they will seek to rectify the imbalance in power by uniting. The central question for someone like Muḥammad mulling a bid for dominance, therefore, is not "If my community is the dominant power, will it be more likely to survive?" It is, "If we make a bid for that dominance, will we be more or less likely to survive?" Many strategists might logically consider the inherent risks that come with ambition to be too great, especially if the start point, as in Muḥammad's case after arriving in Medina, is significant weakness and vulnerability. Understanding that most dominant powers are likely to survive and that most ambitious powers which make a bid for dominance are unlikely to survive, they would accept their limitations and avoid being a source of provocation. Muḥammad was of course a rational thinker, with a sure grasp of tribal dynamics and political realities. Yet he was also a prophet who believed without the slightest doubt that the One God was with him.

The nature of profound religious belief is such that rational considerations

about ends, means, ways and risks are relatively unimportant, and certainly pale in consideration compared to the belief that God has limitless power and is capable of creating changes or delivering outcomes that non-religious leaders and strategists would see as impossible. Muḥammad saw God in this fashion and believed that, as God's prophet, he could even pursue with confidence strategic goals that might seem too risky to others.

Ultimately, Muḥammad believed that God had a masterplan, and that his own responsibility was to bring *that* to fruition. Indeed, he believed what the Qur'ān asserted: that God was "the best of planners" (وَاللّٰهُ خَيْرُ الْمَاكِرِينَ).[1446] He therefore used to pray: "My Lord, help me and do not give help against me. Grant me victory, and do not grant victory over me. Plan on my behalf and do not plan against me. Guide me, and make this guidance easy for me."[1447]

This does not mean that Muḥammad himself did not plan. He certainly did. Nor does it mean that, in terms of each of the sequential steps to be taken in pursuit of his gloriously outsized goals, he did not consider the practicalities of ends, means and ways. He understood that actions created opportunities, and that to gain the most from these one needed more than just determination and courage; one also needed to have plans and resources. He ordered a census of Muslims in Medina at one point, which is evidence that he was trying to calculate precisely what human capital he had to play with.[1448] He kept and regularly updated lists of his people so that he knew what strength he could apply to certain problems.[1449] He kept himself abreast of his community's finances, even checking *zakat* accounts with the gatherers when they brought the payments to him.[1450] At each stage of his polity's growth he carefully planned and proportionately resourced what he needed to do to reach the next stage, with the difficulty of arming and provisioning increasingly large military forces being his greatest challenge. In terms of risk, his conviction that God would not let non-believers prevail over believers gave him tremendous confidence that he would achieve his long-term goals, even if there were to be short-term setbacks, and that he should never become uncertain, hesitant or fearful in pursuit of those goals.

Muḥammad eliminated the uncertainty about other groups' intentions towards his community — the fear of which sometimes gripped his

followers — by simply assuming negative intentions based on the ignorance that they possessed as a result of their spiritual blindness. In other words, the fact that God had not yet revealed to non-Muslim tribes or groups the truth of Islamic monotheism and his prophethood was a sure sign that they would consistently act in unhelpful and adversarial ways. The only way of dealing with the peoples of *jāhiliyya* was therefore to anticipate opposition and to engage with them forcefully and, if they opposed Islam militarily, to be resolute in defeating them. Twice in the Qur'ān, Muslims are exhorted to be forceful with non-Muslims, but soft with each other.[1451] For example, *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:29 states, *inter alia*: "Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allah and those who are with him are forceful against unbelievers, but merciful among each other." ("مُّحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّاء عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَاء بَيْنَهُمْ") That does not mean that all non-Muslims were treated as militarily threatening enemies. Those who did not actually oppose Muḥammad's mission militarily, even if they did not actually support it, or join with enemies, were not to be fought. The Qur'ān explains this clearly in *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:60-61: وَأَعِدُّواْ لَهُم مَّا اسْتَطَعْتُم مِّن قُوَّةٍ وَمِن رِّبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدْوَّ اللّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَآخَرِينَ مِن دُونِهِمْ لاَ تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنفِقُواْ مِن شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللّهِ يُوَفَّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنتُمْ لاَ تُظْلَمُونَ

وَإِن جَنَحُواْ لِلسَّلْمِ فَاجْنَحْ لَهَا وَتَوَكَّلْ عَلَى اللّهِ إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ

> 60. And prepare against them [the unbelievers] all the strength that you can, including strong warhorses, so as to strike fear into [Allah's] enemy and your enemy, and others with them whom you do not know of, but Allah knows. Whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be repaid to you and you will not be wronged.
>
> 61. But if they incline to peace, then you [must] also incline to peace, and trust in Allah for He hears and knows everything.

The Qur'ān make the same point in *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:90, which enjoins Muslims to make war against polytheists and hypocrites (meaning apostates), إِلاَّ الَّذِينَ يَصِلُونَ إِلَىَ قَوْمٍ بَيْنَكُمْ وَبَيْنَهُم مِّيثَاقٌ أَوْ جَآؤُوكُمْ حَصِرَتْ صُدُورُهُمْ أَن يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ أَوْ يُقَاتِلُواْ قَوْمَهُمْ وَلَوْ شَاء اللّهُ لَسَلَّطَهُمْ عَلَيْكُمْ فَلَقَاتَلُوكُمْ فَإِنِ اعْتَزَلُوكُمْ فَلَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ وَأَلْقَوْاْ إِلَيْكُمُ السَّلَمَ فَمَا جَعَلَ اللّهُ لَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ سَبِيلاً

> 90. except those who join you with them in an agreement, or those who come to you with hearts restraining them from fighting you or fighting their own people. If Allah had wanted them [to have] power over you, they would have fought you. So, if they withdraw from you, and do not fight against you, but instead offer you peace, then Allah has opened no way for you [to fight them].

To offer some final thoughts, it is therefore clear that Muḥammad was not a reluctant warrior. He fully understood and energetically exploited warfare's ability to create and safeguard his expanding community and to ensure that its people enjoyed security, stability and prosperity. As well as strong political intuition and ability and a gift for communication, Muḥammad had a sound grasp of what he called military "judgment, strategy and tactics" (الرَّأْيُ وَالْحَرْبُ وَالْمَكِيدَةُ).[1452] It is hard to argue against this, given that during only a decade, from 622 to 632 CE, he quickly transformed from an inexperienced and unsure leader of small raiding parties to a highly effective, routinely successful, and battle hardened military commander capable of skilfully handling armies with thousands of warriors.

The tribal, competitive and unruly nature of Arabian society tended to work against the establishment of any large-scale warfighting capability. Tribes and subtribes essentially lived with the assumption that a state of war existed between one's own tribe and all others, except for those with whom at that time they had a treaty or agreement. Tribes did frequently unite on an ad-hoc basis to deal with particular issues, most commonly regarding trade, but when military in nature these coalitions rarely lasted long, partly due to the self-interest of the parties and the need for sheikhs or leaders from each tribe or clan to retain authority over their own people. This often prevented any unity of command occurring. Sometimes coalitions would dissolve when one or more of the chiefs felt slighted by another chief or believed that he and his people had gained an acceptable amount of booty or prestige, even if the original aim of the coalition remained unfulfilled.

Recognising this, and wanting a more effective and reliable means of gaining security for his rapidly expanding community, and knowing that only a cohesive and capable force under centralized command (his own) could act as the desired agent of change, Muḥammad set about transforming tribal militias into what later became, under his successors, a regular

standing army.

Certainly, by the time of his death in 632, Muḥammad had made significant strides towards the creation of the proto-army that he knew he would need in order to achieve the longer-term strategic goals of his religious mission. That force was not yet supported by an adequate central armory and a reliable funding mechanism, or composed of people whom today we would call professionals; that is, by full-time soldiers paid by the state to perform only that role. It was technically still a militia; a force drawn from the civil population to fight certain battles or undertake certain tasks. Yet by the end of his life, at least some of the warriors were really doing little else. With a steady stream of smaller raids in between the bigger battles, the same people were constantly engaged in military affairs, becoming increasingly disciplined, experienced and expert. They were no longer seen as being Medinans or members of individual tribes, but as a Muslim force — not quite yet as Arabia's first ever non-tribal army, but certainly as a pan-tribal force — and Muḥammad was clearly its commander. When this force fell upon the town of Khaybar early one morning in May 628, the panicked citizens cried out: "Muḥammad and the army!" (محمد والخميس).[1453]

Muḥammad worked tirelessly to maintain the morale of his troops, who usually had to forage for food and endure intense heat and hardship as part of their struggle, or Jihād. He did this by sharing in the struggle himself, by elevating the struggle itself to a Godly task, and through constant engagement and frequent and focused praise and encouragement. With marvellous oratory, he repeatedly emphasised the nobility and necessity of both the cause and the exertion, publicly highlighted the valour of individuals, rewarded excellence, and gave successful people increasingly important responsibilities. In combat he made rousing supplications with the warriors, such as: "There is no God but Allah, who gives His forces the honor of victory and helps His servant to rout the tribes; nothing matters beyond that."[1454] Promises of God's favor, coming from a prophet, was a powerful morale booster. With God supporting them, how could they doubt or fear or lose?

The Qur'ān itself praised those who chose to serve, recognising them as being superior to those who evaded service as well as worthy of every

spiritual and material reward (including Paradise and booty).[1455] Naturally there were some shirkers, described by the Qur'ān as being sick of heart, averse to be inconvenienced by long journeys or heat, keen to stay home with their families, reluctant to contribute financially despite their wealth, and even cowardly and fearful of defeat.[1456]

Except for these people, who were actually few in number and later forgiven after being singled out for short-term shunning, Muḥammad's call to arms and promises of booty and Allah's pleasure were sufficient to get volunteers to serve. The *aḥādīth* speak of plentiful volunteers whose names were inscribed in special military registers.[1457] They also show that sometimes so many people volunteered that their names surpassed the ability to be listed in the registration books.[1458]

At the heart of Muḥammad's military leadership was the concept of unity. Even when he despatched warriors on a raid, but was unable to go himself, he appointed only one leader. He did so even if the raiding party was composed of members of different tribes, subtribes or peoples. They were all to obey that leader, as equals beneath him, even if they came from tribes of differing status or reputation, and regardless of which group the leader himself came from. Division or disobedience based on tribalism was unacceptable: The Messenger of Allah s said: "Whoever fights blindly for a cause which encourages tribalism or getting angry because of tribalism, then he has died in ignorance.[1459]

No longer supposed to give loyalty based on tribal affiliation, the warriors sent on missions were now to see themselves as "believers" and "brothers" who were theoretically united in obedience of a single leader. We see a reference to this concept in Muḥammad's despatch to Nakhla of ʻAbdullāh ibn Jaḥsh as head of a raiding party in January 624. Al-Wāqidī records that ʻAbdullāh was called the "leader of the believers" (أمير المؤمنين) during that raid.[1460] We should not read too much into this phrase. It was not a formal rank or title, deserving of capital letters, as it became when chosen by Muḥammad's political successors, but it is indicative of the fact that the raids were led by people who received responsibility for a cohesive and unified band of men defined, at least theoretically, by belief rather than by tribal origin.

Muḥammad's strict insistence on unity of command can be seen clearly in

the case of the October 629 raid on Dhāt al-Salāsil, which was ten days' journey north of Medina. He sent ‘Amr ibn al-‘As with a detachment of warriors, hoping that ‘Amr could drum up local support for a forthcoming expedition to al-Shām. Once in the enemy area ‘Amr became afraid and sent a message to Muḥammad asking for reinforcements. Muḥammad despatched Abū ‘Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ with extra troops and a very clear instruction: “You two must not disagree.”[1461] When Abū ‘Ubayda reached ‘Amr’s position, the latter insisted that he remained in charge. Abū ‘Ubayda refused to be drawn into a dispute, telling ‘Amr that the Prophet had insisted that they must not quarrel over command. He humbly submitted to ‘Amr, saying: “Even if you disobey me, I will obey you.” ‘Amr gloated, saying: “Then I am your commander, and you are only my reinforcement.” Complying with the Prophet was more important than succumbing to ego, so Abū ‘Ubayda merely replied: “Have it your way”.[1462]

It is also worth noting that, whenever Muḥammad sent out a raid, he would personally meet with its leader to pray for the group’s safety, to explain the mission’s purpose, and to convey his trust in him. This must have been highly empowering. We also know that he would explain the moral behaviour that he expected (for example, no harm to women, children and the aged, and no mutilation) and would also explain to him the need always “to be good” to the people under his authority.[1463]

Not wanting inter-tribal squabbles or doubts about authority to erupt if an appointed leader died in battle, Muḥammad made clear before sending any force on a campaign that was likely to result in casualties who the officially appointed second-in-command was. In some cases, he even named the third-in-command in case the first two fell. We see this most clearly before the Battle of Mu’ta in September 629, when Muḥammad appointed his beloved adopted son Zayd ibn Ḥāritha as commander, but “if he is martyred, then Ja‘far [ibn Abī Ṭalib] should take over, and if he is also martyred then ‘Abdullāh ibn Rawāḥa should take over.”[1464] As it happened, all three died in the battle, prompting Khālid ibn al-Walīd to assume authority on his own initiative. Possessing tremendous presence and charisma, and a long record of success in battle, the warriors accepted his command.

Fighting on raids and in battles involved solemn responsibilities not only for the leaders, but also for the warriors. Muḥammad was clear that the new

Islamic force he was trying to create would contain no disobedience, no pursuit of personal reputation (often attained in Arabian culture through ostentatious displays of reckless valour at the expense of the common good), and no misconduct whatsoever. As a *ḥadīth* quotes him telling his men: Warfare involves two kinds [of warrior]: The one who fights for Allah's favor, obeys his leader, supports the mission with the property he values, treats his comrades gently, and commits no misconduct [*fasād*] will gain reward while he is asleep and awake. Yet the one who fights for self-centered or arrogant reasons, who disobeys the leader or commits any misconduct in the land will miss out on reward with anything worthwhile.[1465]

Fasād, often translated clumsily and innocuously as "mischief" or "corruption", actually denotes serious acts of unlawful killing, violence, immorality or insurrection. In the Qur'ān, it is listed as a major sin alongside murder.[1466] In terms of warrior conduct, it meant killing innocent people or violating their rights, showing no mercy when it should be granted, torture, mutilation, stealing from the booty, or acting in ways that destroyed cohesion and comradeship.

Clearly Muḥammad could not be calling other tribes and peoples to serve God and live according to a strict moral code if his warriors' actions represented a different set of values; even those ordinarily seen in Arabian wars at that time. His warriors must be different. It has already been shown above that the Prophet created and enforced strict rules about protecting the innocent, and a final example will help to summarize the way that he understood the proper limitations on the use of military force once the decision to fight had been taken. When he sent Zayd ibn Ḥāritha and his force to Mu'ta in 629, he told them: Attack in the name of Allah, and fight His enemy and yours in al-Shām. You will encounter men [monks] secluded in monasteries, withdrawn from others. Do not attack them. You will find other people seeking out Satan and sin. Draw your swords against them. Do not kill a woman or a young child, or the old and the unwell. Do not destroy the date palm, cut down trees, or destroy a dwelling.[1467]

Thus, as well as the innocent, even infrastructure and the means of production were to be left alone. Muḥammad's use of the word *bayt* (بيت, "dwelling" or "house") makes it clear that he intended for family homes to

be left untouched. We also know how he felt about the need to protect religious buildings. In *Sūrah al-Ḥajj*, the Qur'ān condemns the evil of destroying religious buildings, including Jewish synagogues: الَّذِينَ أُخْرِجُوا مِن دِيَارِهِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقٍّ إِلَّا أَن يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ وَلَوْلَا دَفْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُم بِبَعْضٍ لَّهُدِّمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعٌ وَصَلَوَاتٌ وَمَسَاجِدُ يُذْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيراً وَلَيَنصُرَنَّ اللَّهُ مَن يَنصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَقَوِيٌّ عَزِيزٌ

> 40. [There are] those who have been evicted from their homes unjustly, only for saying, "Our Lord is Allah". And if it were not that Allah uses some people to counter others, then monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques would have been destroyed in which the name of Allah is much mentioned. And Allah will surely support those who support Him. Indeed, Allah is all-Powerful and Almighty.[1468]

When trying to summarize Muḥammad's ability to wield military power, one must admit that it is hard to compare his skills with those of history's legendary commanders, such as Alexander, Hannibal, Genghis Khan, Timur, Napoleon, Nelson, Lee, Rommel, and Patton. Warfare was as much a part of his life as it was of theirs. Yet his warfare did not resemble in scope, nature or purpose that bloody business prosecuted by those famous warriors.

Muḥammad initiated around eighty military missions, raids and campaigns — averaging one every six weeks for a decade — 27 of which he led himself, which might sound aggressive and violent, but, as has been shown, those raids did not always involve contact with an enemy and seldom caused casualties, let alone deaths. Many were only shows of force designed to demonstrate his community's increasing strength, to keep constant pressure on groups that might have allied with his enemies, to raid camels and sheep from herds in accordance with existing social norms, and of course to take Islam to those who had not yet heard the message.

Even the structured set-piece battles were far less dramatic than they initially seem. Ibn Hishām and al-Wāqidī tell us that, if we exclude offensive and defensive sieges, in which almost no one died anyway, there were really only four pitched battles; that is, battles in which both sides used mass, maneuver and orchestrated violence on a preselected battlefield. These may have had enormous social and political consequences, but they were also almost devoid of death. At Badr the Muslims suffered 14 dead; at

Uḥud 70; at Mu’ta 12 (from a claimed force of 3,000) and at Ḥunayn (where Muḥammad reportedly led 12,000 warriors) only four. The deadliest siege undertaken by the Muslims, the assault on Khaybar, caused only 15 Muslim deaths. Even the famous Battle of the Trench, the basic aspects of which are known by most Muslims to this day, resulted in only six Muslim deaths. The casualties that the Muslims inflicted were not much greater. Indeed, if we add up casualties on both sides in the nine main confrontations spread throughout a decade of conflict, we can only count 138 dead Muslims and 216 dead opponents. Even when we add the four to seven hundred men of the Banū Qurayẓa who were killed in Medina (and accept the less likely higher figure), we reach a total of around 1,000 deaths on both sides, which, when averaged throughout Muḥammad’s decade of war, gives a total of only two deaths per week.

We must therefore refrain from seeing Muḥammad as violent or careless with human life. He was probably only as engaged in war as any tribal sheikh in that period, and despite the frequent and dramatic sounding mentions of warfare that appear in the Qur’ān and the *aḥādīth*, we would be wrong to see this activity through a modern lens. Rather than leaving battlefields littered with the nameless dead, as is now common in war, there were so few casualties in Muḥammad’s struggles that almost every single casualty is named in the sources.

The centrality of these military activities in Islamic origin stories owes a lot to the way that oral traditions which pass from generation to generation accentuate heroic deeds and noble qualities, which are ideal for weaving verbal spells in stories told around campfires. Muḥammad has thus become the paradigmatic hero, much as Agamemnon, Achilles, and Odysseus did in Classical Greece.

If one wonders how good he actually was at this relatively bloodless activity that was far more about projecting confidence, maximizing power and demonstrating chiefly authority than about inflicting death and destruction, one must conclude that, in short, he was unusually capable and effective. Humane, courageous, creative, unhesitant, and utterly inspiring to his soldiers, he seemed to know how best to keep pressure on his opponents and to stay one step ahead of them so that they had to react to his moves without being able to implement their own plans. Exploiting speed, surprise and unity of command, he was able to move even large and tightly cohesive

forces skilfully over long distances to impose his will on opponents with minimal losses on either side.

Appendix List of Islamic Raids and Campaigns The earliest extant Arabic sources differ on the order and chronology of the raids and campaigns by Muḥammad and his followers. The order and dating of this list come from Muhammad at Medina (pp. 339-343) by Montgomery Watt, who in turn follows the chronology proposed by Leone Caetani, which follows the order given by al-Wāqidī as a general rule where there are discrepancies between his work and Ibn Hishām's recension of Ibn Isḥāq's work.

AH year	CE Date	Destination or Location	Opponents	Leader	No. of Participants	Result
1	March 623	Sīf al-Baḥr	Quraysh	Ḥamza ibn ʻAbdul-Muṭṭalib	30	No fighting
1	April 623	Rābigh	Quraysh	ʻUbayda ibn al-Hārith	60-80	No fighting
1	May 623	al-Kharrār	Quraysh	Saʻd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ	20 (or 8)	No contact
2	August 623	al-Abwā	Quraysh	Muḥammad	60	No contact
2	September 623	Buwāṭ	Quraysh	Muḥammad	200	No contact
2	September 623	Ṣafawān	Kurz ibn Jābir al-Fihrī	Muḥammad	200	Failed to overtake raiders
2	December 623	Dhū l-ʻUshayra	Quraysh	Muḥammad	150-200	No contact
2	January 624	Nakhla	Quraysh	ʻAbdullāh ibn Jaḥsh	7-12	Booty and captives taken. One opponent killed
2	15 March 624	Battle of Badr	Quraysh	Muḥammad	c. 305-315	Military victory. Booty

						and captives taken
2	March 624	Medina	Assassination of ʻAṣma bint Marwān	ʻUmayr ibn ʻAdi	1	Successful assassination
2	April 624	Medina	Assassination of ʻAbū Afak	Salim ibn Umayr	1	Successful assassination
2	April 624	Medina	Siege and Expulsion of the Banū Qaynuqāʻ	Muḥammad	Not recorded	Banū Qaynuqāʻ defeated and expelled
2	May / June 624	Sawīq	Quraysh	Muḥammad	200 or 400	Enemy retreated
3	July 624	al-Kudr	Sulaym and Ghaṭafān	Muḥammad	200	Booty taken
3	August / September 624	Medina	Assassination of Kaʻb ibn al-Ashraf	Muḥammad ibn Maslama	5	Successful assassination
3	September 624	Dhū Amarr	Thaʻlaba, Muḥārib	Muḥammad	450	No contact. Converts made
3	October / November 624	Buḥrān	Sulaym	Muḥammad	300	Enemy dispersed
3	November 624	al-Qarada	Quraysh	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	100	Caravan captured. Booty taken
3	23 March 625	Medina	Quraysh	Muḥammad	700	Military defeat
3	March 625	Ḥamrāʼ al-Asad	Quraysh	Muḥammad	Unknown. Some sources implausibly say 900	No contact
4	June 625	Qaṭan	Asad	Abū Salama ibn ʻAbd al-Asad	150	Booty taken
4	June 625	ʻUrana	Assassination of Sufyan ibn Khālid ibn Nubayh al-Hudhali	ʻAbdullāh ibn Unays	1	Successful assassination

4	July 625	Bi’r Ma‘ūna	Sulaym	al-Mundhir ibn ‘Amr	40-70	Muslims killed
4	July 625	al-Rajī‘	Liḥyān	Marthad ibn Abī Marthad al-Ghanawī	7-10	Muslims killed
4	August 625	Medina	Siege and Expulsion of the Banū al-Naḍīr	Muḥammad	Not recorded	Banū al-Naḍīr defeated and expelled
4	April 626	Badr	Quraysh	Muḥammad	1,500	No contact
4	June 626	Khaybar	Assassination of Abū Rafi’ Sallām ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq	‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Atik	5	Successful assassination
5	June 626	Dhāt al-Riqā‘	Anmār, Tha‘laba	Muḥammad	400-800	No contact
5	August / September 626	Dūmat al-Jandal	Various tribes	Muḥammad	1,000	Booty taken
5	January 627	al-Muraysī‘	Al-Muṣṭaliq	Muḥammad	Not recorded	Booty taken
5	April 627	Battle of the Trench	Coalition force of Quraysh, Ghaṭafān and others	Muḥammad	3,000	Impasse. Coalition attackers dispersed

		in Medina				
5	May 627	Medina	Qurayẓa	Muḥammad	3,000	Qurayẓa defeated and men executed
6	June 627	al-Qurṭā’	Bakr ibn Kilāb	Muḥammad ibn Maslama	30	Booty taken
6	July 627	Ghurān	Liḥyān	Muḥammad	200	No contact
6	August 627	al-Ghāba	Ghaṭafān	Muḥammad	500-700	Light fighting
6	August / September 627	al-Ghamr	Asad	‘Ukkāsha ibn Miḥṣan	40	Booty taken
6	August / September 627	Dhū l-Qaṣṣa	Tha‘laba and others	Muḥammad ibn Maslama	10	Muslims attacked while sleeping. Deaths on both sides
6	August / September 627	Dhū l-Qaṣṣah	Tha‘laba and others	Abū ‘Ubayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ	40	Enemy dispersed
6	September 627	al-Jamūm	Sulaym	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	Not recorded	Booty taken
6	September / October 627	al-‘Iṣ	Quraysh	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	170	Caravan captured. Booty taken
6	October / November 627	Al-Ṭaraf	Tha‘laba	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	15	Booty taken
6	October / November 627	Ḥismā	Judhām	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	500	Booty taken
6	November / December 627	Wādī al-Qurā	Badr ibn Fazāra	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	Not recorded	Muslims ambushed and robbed
6	December 627 / January 628	Dūmat al-Jandal	Kalb	‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Awf	700	Kalb converted to Islam
6	December 627 / January 628	Fadak	Sa‘d	‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	100	Booty taken

6	January / February 628	Wādī al-Qurā	Fazāra	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	Not recorded	Badr punished for the earlier robbery of Zayd ibn Ḥāritha
6	February / March 628	Khaybar	Usayr ibn Zarim	ʻAbdullāh ibn Rawāḥa	30	Successful assassination
6	February / March 628	ʻUrayna area	Thieves who stole Muḥammad's camels	Kurz ibn Jābir al-Fihrī	20	Thieves executed
6	Date unconfirmed	Madyan	Mīnā'	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	3?	Captives taken and later sold as slaves
6	March 628	al-Ḥudaybiyya	Quraysh	Muḥammad	700-1,600	Pilgrimage denied. Treaty signed
7	May / June 628	Khaybar	Jews	Muḥammad	1,600	Successful siege of Khaybar. Treaty signed
7	May / June 628	Najd	Not recorded	Abān ibn Saʻīd ibn al-ʻĀs	Not recorded	Not recorded
7	December 628	Turba	ʻAjuz Hawāzin	ʻUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	30	Enemy dispersed
7	December 628	Najd	Hawāzin	Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq	December 628	Raided enemy. Killed more than seven persons
7	December 628	Fadak	Murra	Bashīr ibn Saʻd	30	Killed unspecified number
7	December 628	Fadak	Murra	Ghālib ibn ʻAbdullāh	200	Killed unspecified number
7	January 629	Mayfaʻa	Thaʻlaba	Ghālib ibn ʻAbdullāh	130	Booty taken. Locals killed
7	February 629	al-Jināb	Ghaṭafān	Bashīr ibn Saʻd	300	Booty taken
7	March 629	Mecca	No opponents	Muḥammad	2,000	ʻUmrah (minor

						pilgrimage)
7	April 629	Not recorded	Sulaym	Ibn Abī l-ʻAwjāʼ	50	Enemy encountered. Battle occurred. Most Muslims killed
8	June 629	al-Kadīd	Al-Mulawwaḥ	Ghālib ibn ʻAbdullāh	10	Booty and captives taken
8	July 629	Dhāt Āṭlāḥ	Quḍāʻa	Kaʻb ibn ʻUmayr al-Ghifari	15	Enemy encountered. Battle occurred. All Muslims killed
8	July 629	al-Siyy	Hawāzin	Shujāʻ ibn Wahb	24	Booty taken
8	September 629	Muʼta	Ghassan?	Zayd ibn Ḥāritha	3,000	Muslims defeated and leaders killed
8	October 629	Dhāt al-Salāsil	Baliyy, Quḍāʻa	ʻAmr ibn al-ʻAs	500	Enemy dispersed. Minor fighting only
8	November 629	Sīf al-Baḥr	Juhayna	Abū ʻUbayda ibn al-Jarrāḥ	300	Did not see enemy
8	December 629	Khaḍira	Ghaṭafān	Abū Qatāda	16	Booty and captives taken
8	December 629	Baṭn, Iḍam	To north	Abū Qatāda	8	Decoy mission to distract opponents
8	January 630	Mecca	Quraysh	Muḥammad	10,000	Conquered Mecca
8	January 630	Yalamlam	Non-Muslims	Hishām ibn al-ʻAs	200	Not recorded
8	January 630	ʻUrana	Non-Muslims	Khālid ibn Saʻīd	300	Not recorded
8	January 630	Mecca region	Jadhīma	Khālid ibn al-Walīd	350	Innocent people killed by Khālid
8	January 630	Mecca region	Various missions	Various	Not recorded	Shrines

			to destroy pagan shrines			destroyed
8	January 630	Ḥunayn	Hawāzin	Muḥammad	12,000	Military victory. Booty and captives taken
8	February 630	Ṭā'if	Thaqīf	Muḥammad	12,000	Unsuccessful siege
8	February / March 630	al-Ji'rāna	No opponents	Muḥammad	12,000	Distribution of booty
9	April / May 630 630	al-'Arj	Tamīm	'Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn al-Fazārī	50	Imposed political submission upon tribespeople
9	May / June 630	Tabāla	Khath'am	Quṭba ibn Āmir ibn Hadīda	20	Fighting occurred. Booty taken
9	June / July 630	Zujj	Al-Qurata	Daḥḥāk ibn Sufyān ibn 'Awf	Not recorded	Imposed political submission upon tribespeople
9	July / August 630	al-Shu'ayba	Abyssinians on the Arabian coast	'Alqama ibn Mujazziz al-Mudliji	300	Abyssinians fled
9	July / August 630	al-Fuls	Tayyi'	'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib	150	Destroyed cultic center and idol
9	Not recorded	al-Hubāb	'Udhrah	'Ukkāsha ibn Miḥṣan	Not recorded	Not recorded
9	October – December 630	Tabūk	Ghassān	Muḥammad	30,000	Indecisive
9	October 630	Dūmat al-Jandal	Kinda	Khālid ibn al-Walīd	420	Imposed political submission. Booty taken
9	March / April 631	Mecca	No opponents	Abū Bakr	Not recorded	Hajj (major pilgrimage)

10	June / July 631	al-Yaman	Al-Ḥārith	Khālid ibn al-Walīd	400	Imposed political submission
10	December 631	al-Yaman	Madhhij	ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib	300	Imposed political submission
10	March 632	Mecca	No opponents	Muḥammad	Not recorded	Hajj (major pilgrimage)
11	June / July 632	Mu’ta	Ghassan	Usāma ibn Zayd	3,000	Successful raid. Booty taken

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34 — Rahman, *Muhammad as a Military Leader*, pp. 34, 38.

35 — A fine treatment of the jurisprudential history of the concept of abrogation can be found in Louay Fatoohi, *Abrogation in the Qur'an: A Critical Study of the Concept of "Naskh" and its Impact* (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

36 — Cf. Robert Spencer, *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Islam (And the Crusades)* (Lanham, MD: Regnery, 2005), pp. 24-26. See also: Richard P. Bailey, *Jihad: The Teachings of Islam from its Primary Sources – The Quran and ḥadīth*, available online at: http://www.answering-islam.org/Bailey/jihad.html; and David Bukay, "Peace or Jihad: Abrogation in Islam," *Middle East Quarterly*, Fall 2007, pp. 3-11, available online at: http://www.meforum.org/1754/peace-or-jihad-abrogation-in-islam.

37 — *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:33. Cf. *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:50 and *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:26.

38 — Ali Móhamed Ali El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah: A Thesis Presented to the University of London for the Degree of PhD* (December 1952), pp. 1-2.

39 — G. E. von Grunebaum, "The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam," in F. E. Peters, ed., *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam* The Formation of the Classical Islamic World Volume 3 (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 1-21.

40 — W. Montgomery, Watt, "Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War," in Thomas Murphy, ed., *The Holy War* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1976), pp. 141-156, esp. p. 141.

41 — The triliteral root 'ayn rā bā (ع ر ب) occurs 22 times in the Quran, in three derived forms: 10 times as the noun *a'rāb* (أَعْرَاب), meaning the Bedouin desert dwellers, once as the

adjective *‘urub* (عُرُب), meaning “devoted”, and 11 times as the nominal *‘arabiyy* (عَرَبِيّ), meaning the Arabic language itself. For a clear example of the first usage, see *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:20: “They think the [enemy’s] allies have not withdrawn. And if the allies should come [again], they would wish they were in the desert among the Bedouins [“بَادُونَ فِي الْأَعْرَابِ”], asking about your news. And if they should be among you, they would only fight a little.”

42 — Robert Hoyland, “Arabian Peninsula”, in Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Third Edition (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p. 110.

43 — Louise E. Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin: A Mechanism of Ecological Adaptation,” *American Anthropologist,* Vol. 67, No. 5, Part 1 (October 1965), pp. 1132-1150.

44 — Carleton S. Coon, “BADW”, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* Second Edition (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989) Vol. I, p. 873. *Note: unless stated otherwise, all cited entries from this encyclopedia come from the second edition (1954-2005).*

45 — Ute Pietruschka, “Bedouin”, in Jane Dammen McAuliffe, editor, *Encyclopaedia of the Quran: Volume One A-D* (Brill, 2001-2006), p. 215.

46 — Fred Donner, “The Role of Nomads in the Near East in Late Antiquity (400-800 C.E.)” in F. E. Peters, ed., *The Arabs and Arabia on the Eve of Islam*, p. 24; Von Grunebaum, “The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam,” p. 8.

47 — Donner, “The Role of Nomads,” p. 24.

48 — Donner, “The Role of Nomads,” p. 24.

49 — Von Grunebaum, “The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam,” p. 4.

50 — Von Grunebaum, “The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam,” p. 8.

51 — Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mālik Ibn Hishām ibn Ayyub al-Himyari, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Assriya, 2012); Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*; Muḥammad ibn Sa‘d ibn Manī‘ al-Baṣrī al-Hāshimī, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2012).

52 — F. E. Peters, *Muhammad and the Origins of Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 211.

53 — Although there is no absolute consistency, the common Islamic convention is to call any raid led personally by Muḥammad a *ghazwa* (plural *ghazawāt* or *maghāzī*) and any raid led by an appointee a *sarīyyā* (pl. *sarāyā*). This convention has no basis in the *aḥādīth*, which sometimes use *ghazwā* for any raid, regardless of whether or not the Prophet led it. There are even *aḥādīth* describing the very same raid, with one *ḥadīth* calling it a *ghazwa* and another calling it a *sarīyyā*.

54 — For the evolution of Islamic justifications for early Islamic offensive warfare, see Ayman S. Ibrahim's *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion (622-641): A Critical Revision of Muslims' Traditional Portrayal of the Arab Raids and Conquests* (New York et al.: Peter Lang, 2018).

55 — Landau-Tasseron, "Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army," p. 305.

56 — Cf. Watt, "Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War," p. 143; Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* p. 169.

57 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 48; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 236-237; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 4.

58 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 10; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 342.

59 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, p. 210.

60 — Abdul Hameed Siddiqui, *The Life of Muhammad* (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 1999), p. 184. Refuting this line of argument, Tilman Nagel unbelievably claims: "Nowhere in the historical reports or in the Koran is there any indication that Muhammad's first military expeditions were meant to defend Medina against Quraysh attacks. Rather, they were part of a pre-planned, determined effort, first of all, to cut off Quraysh commercial traffic to the north, to reduce Mecca's income, and finally, as will become clear in the following chapters, to gain control over the Kaaba and thereby to achieve the objective that he had already pointed to in Sura 7." Tilman Nagel, *Muhammad's Mission: Religion, Politics, and Power at the Birth of Islam* Translated by Joseph S. Spoerl (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), p. 108.

61 — Barnaby Rogerson, *The Prophet Muhammad: A Biography* (London: Abacus Books, 2003), p. 146.

62 — W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 4.

63 — Rodgers, *The Generalship of Muhammad*; Gabriel, *Muhammad: Islam's First Great General*.

64 — Gabriel, *Muhammad*, pp. xx, xxxi.

65 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

66 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 336; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

67 — Landau-Tasseron, "Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army," p. 305.

68 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 21, 131-132. See also 'Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Jabir al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr lil-Tiba'ah wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzi', 1996), Vol. 1, pp. 345, 346; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 790, *aḥādīth* 3951, 4418; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo: Dār al-Ghad

al-Jadīd, 2007), pp. 980-983, *aḥādīth* 2769a, b.

69 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 12. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 332-333.

70 — This is certainly also Ibn Hishām's view: *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 249. See also Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn Ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsa al-Khosrojerdi al-Bayhaqī, *Sunan al-Kabīr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2003) (hereafter *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī*), Vol. 9, p. 19, *ḥadīth* 17740. For modern writers who agree, see: Fatoohi, *Jihad in the Qur'an*, 31; Bashier, *War and Peace in the Life of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 2-4; Martin Lings, *Muhammad: His Life based on the Earliest Sources* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1983. Islamic Texts Society edition, 2009), p. 135; Sohail H. Hashmi, "Sunni Islam," in Gabriel Palmer-Fernandez, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion and War* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 217. Sohail H. Hashmi, ed., *Islamic Political Ethics: Civil Society, Pluralism, and Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p. 198.

71 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 618-619, 792, 847-848, 1363, *aḥādīth* 3081, 3971, 4274, 6939; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 587, *ḥadīth* 1628a.

72 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 326.

73 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 3ff.

74 — Ma'mar ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* (Library of Arabic Literature, 2014), p. 30.

75 — Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa-l-Muluk* (hereafter *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*) (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2008), Vol. 1, p. 359.

76 — Given that the works of *Sīrah-Maghāzī* and the *aḥādīth* both rely on accounts of events presented by earlier narrators, who are carefully listed in "chains" of transmission (i.e., Person A told Person B that Person C heard from Person D that his father Person E was with the Prophet and heard him say a certain thing), there are obvious similarities in method, form and content, with their purpose and the roles of chronology and context being the most significant differences. Yet these differences are actually substantial, and have led to the interrelated fields of study diverging considerably over time. It is also clear that the *ḥadīth* collections contain innumerable reports about issues and events not found in the *Sīrah-Maghāzī* literature (such as prophetic decisions of limited biographical importance; on liturgical and ritualistic matters, for example), and that the *Sīrah-Maghāzī* literature contains a wealth of material not found in the *ḥadīth* collections that draws upon other sources (such as poetry, quotes from the Qur'ān, early documents, and the biographer's own judgment expressed in introductory and evaluative comments). A very interesting article on these issues is: Andreas Görke, "The Relationship between Maghāzī and Ḥadīth in Early Islamic Scholarship," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (2011), pp. 171-185.

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77 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 640, *ḥadīth* 1749a: حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ يَحْيَى، قَالَ قَرَأْتُ عَلَى مَالِكٍ عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ بَعَثَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم سَرِيَّةً وَأَنَا فِيهِمْ قِبَلَ نَجْدٍ فَغَنِمُوا إِبِلاً كَثِيرَةً فَكَانَتْ سُهْمَانُهُمُ اثْنَى عَشَرَ بَعِيرًا أَوْ أَحَدَ عَشَرَ بَعِيرًا وَنُفِّلُوا بَعِيرًا بَعِيرًا.

78 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 702, *ḥadīth* 1906b: حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَهْلٍ التَّمِيمِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ أَبِي مَرْيَمَ، أَخْبَرَنَا نَافِعُ بْنُ يَزِيدَ، حَدَّثَنِيأَبُو هَانِئٍ، حَدَّثَنِي أَبُو عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ الْحُبُلِيُّ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهصلى الله عليه وسلم "مَا مِنْ غَازِيَةٍ أَوْ سَرِيَّةٍ تَغْزُو فَتَغْنَمُ وَتَسْلَمُ إِلاَّ كَانُوا قَدْ تَعَجَّلُوا ثُلُثَىْ أُجُورِهِمْ وَمَا مِنْ غَازِيَةٍ أَوْ سَرِيَّةٍ تُخْفِقُ وَتُصَابُ إِلاَّ تَمَّ أُجُورُهُمْ".

79 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 525, *ḥadīth* 2787: عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِي سَعِيدُ بْنُ الْمُسَيَّبِ، أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ " مَثَلُ الْمُجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ ـ وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَنْ يُجَاهِدُ فِي سَبِيلِهِ ـ كَمَثَلِ الصَّائِمِ الْقَائِمِ، وَتَوَكَّلَ اللَّهُ لِلْمُجَاهِدِ فِي سَبِيلِهِ بِأَنْ يَتَوَفَّاهُ أَنْ يُدْخِلَهُ الْجَنَّةَ، أَوْ يَرْجِعَهُ سَالِمًا مَعَ أَجْرٍ أَوْ غَنِيمَةٍ".

80 — Landau-Tasseron, "Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army," p. 304. The *ḥadīth* she quotes is found in *Al-Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah* (Cairo: al-Faruq al-Ḥādītha lil-Taba'a wa-l-Nashr, 2007), Vol. 6, p. 660, *ḥadīth* 19884:

> 80حدثنا عبدة، عّن اسماعيل بن رافع، عن زيد بن اسلم، قال: قال رسول الله s: "اغْزُوا تَصِحُّوا وتَغْنَمُوا".
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> 80Some scholars of *aḥādīth* might argue that Ismā'īl ibn Rafī' was a weak transmitter.

81 — *Sunan al-Nasā'i* (Riyadh: Dārussalam, 1999), pp. 438-439, *ḥadīth* 3178:

> 81أَخْبَرَنَا عِيسَى بْنُ يُونُسَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا ضَمْرَةُ، عَنْ أَبِي زُرْعَةَ السَّيْبَانِيِّ، عَنْ أَبِي سُكَيْنَةَ، - رَجُلٌ مِنَ الْمُحَرَّرِينَ - عَنْ رَجُلٍ، مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ لَمَّا أَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِحَفْرِ الْخَنْدَقِ عَرَضَتْ لَهُمْ صَخْرَةٌ حَالَتْ بَيْنَهُمْ وَبَيْنَ الْحَفْرِ فَقَامَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم وَأَخَذَ الْمِعْوَلَ وَوَضَعَ رِدَاءَهُ نَاحِيَةَ الْخَنْدَقِ وَقَالَ "{تَمَّتْ كَلِمَةُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلاً لاَ مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ}" فَنَدَرَ ثُلُثُ الْحَجَرِ وَسَلْمَانُ الْفَارِسِيُّ قَائِمٌ يَنْظُرُ فَبَرَقَ مَعَ ضَرْبَةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَرْقَةٌ ثُمَّ ضَرَبَ الثَّانِيَةَ وَقَالَ "{ تَمَّتْ كَلِمَةُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلاً لاَ مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ}". فَنَدَرَ الثُّلُثُ الآخَرُ فَبَرَقَتْ بَرْقَةٌ فَرَآهَا سَلْمَانُ ثُمَّ ضَرَبَ الثَّالِثَةَ وَقَالَ "{تَمَّتْ كَلِمَةُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلاً لاَ مُبَدِّلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ}". فَنَدَرَ الثُّلُثُ الْبَاقِي وَخَرَجَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَخَذَ رِدَاءَهُ وَجَلَسَ. قَالَ سَلْمَانُ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ رَأَيْتُكَ حِينَ ضَرَبْتَ مَا تَضْرِبُ ضَرْبَةً إِلاَّ كَانَتْ مَعَهَا بَرْقَةٌ. قَالَ لَهُ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم "يَا سَلْمَانُ رَأَيْتَ ذَلِكَ". فَقَالَ إِي وَالَّذِي بَعَثَكَ بِالْحَقِّ يَا رَسُولَ

اللَّهِ. قَالَ "فَإِنِّي حِينَ ضَرَبْتُ الضَّرْبَةَ الأولَى رُفِعَتْ لِي مَدَائِنُ كِسْرَى وَمَا حَوْلَهَا وَمَدَائِنُ كَثِيرَةٌ حَتَّى رَأَيْتُهَا بِعَيْنَىَّ". قَالَ لَهُ مَنْ حَضَرَهُ مِنْ أَصْحَابِهِ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ادْعُ اللَّهَ أَنْ يَفْتَحَهَا عَلَيْنَا وَيُغَنِّمَنَا دِيَارَهُمْ وَيُخَرِّبَ بِأَيْدِينَا بِلاَدَهُمْ. فَدَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِذَلِكَ "ثُمَّ ضَرَبْتُ الضَّرْبَةَ الثَّانِيَةَ فَرُفِعَتْ لِي مَدَائِنُ قَيْصَرَ وَمَا حَوْلَهَا حَتَّى رَأَيْتُهَا بِعَيْنَىَّ". قَالُوا يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ ادْعُ اللَّهَ أَنْ يَفْتَحَهَا عَلَيْنَا وَيُغَنِّمَنَا دِيَارَهُمْ وَيُخَرِّبَ بِأَيْدِينَا بِلاَدَهُمْ. فَدَعَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِذَلِكَ "ثُمَّ ضَرَبْتُ الثَّالِثَةَ فَرُفِعَتْ لِي مَدَائِنُ الْحَبَشَةِ. وَمَا حَوْلَهَا مِنَ الْقُرَى حَتَّى رَأَيْتُهَا بِعَيْنَىَّ". قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ "دَعُوا الْحَبَشَةَ مَا وَدَعُوكُمْ وَاتْرُكُوا التُّرْكَ مَا تَرَكُوكُمْ".

82 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 450; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 548.

83 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 529, *ḥadīth* 2810:

83حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ، حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ أَبِي وَائِلٍ، عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ جَاءَ رَجُلٌ إِلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَقَالَ الرَّجُلُ يُقَاتِلُ لِلْمَغْنَمِ، وَالرَّجُلُ يُقَاتِلُ لِلذِّكْرِ، وَالرَّجُلُ يُقَاتِلُ لِيُرَى مَكَانُهُ، فَمَنْ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ قَالَ "مَنْ قَاتَلَ لِتَكُونَ كَلِمَةُ اللَّهِ هِيَ الْعُلْيَا فَهُوَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ".

84 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 593, *ḥadīth* 2942:

84حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مَسْلَمَةَ الْقَعْنَبِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الْعَزِيزِ بْنُ أَبِي حَازِمٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ سَهْلِ بْنِ سَعْدٍ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ سَمِعَ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَقُولُ يَوْمَ خَيْبَرَ "لأُعْطِيَنَّ الرَّايَةَ رَجُلاً يَفْتَحُ اللَّهُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ". فَقَامُوا يَرْجُونَ لِذَلِكَ أَيُّهُمْ يُعْطَى، فَغَدَوْا وَكُلُّهُمْ يَرْجُو أَنْ يُعْطَى فَقَالَ "أَيْنَ عَلِيٌّ". فَقِيلَ يَشْتَكِي عَيْنَيْهِ، فَأَمَرَ فَدُعِيَ لَهُ، فَبَصَقَ فِي عَيْنَيْهِ، فَبَرَأَ مَكَانَهُ حَتَّى كَأَنَّهُ لَمْ يَكُنْ بِهِ شَىْءٌ فَقَالَ نُقَاتِلُهُمْ حَتَّى يَكُونُوا مِثْلَنَا. فَقَالَ "عَلَى رِسْلِكَ حَتَّى تَنْزِلَ بِسَاحَتِهِمْ، ثُمَّ ادْعُهُمْ إِلَى الإِسْلاَمِ، وَأَخْبِرْهُمْ بِمَا يَجِبُ عَلَيْهِمْ، فَوَاللَّهِ لأَنْ يُهْدَى بِكَ رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ خَيْرٌ لَكَ مِنْ حُمْرِ النَّعَمِ".

85 — *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥādīth, 2005), Vol. 2, p. 532, *ḥadīth* 2857:

85حَدَّثَنَا الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيٍّ الْخَلاَّلُ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو أُسَامَةَ، حَدَّثَنِي عَطِيَّةُ بْنُ الْحَارِثِ أَبُو رَوْقٍ الْهَمْدَانِيُّ، حَدَّثَنِي أَبُو الْغَرِيفِ، عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ خَلِيفَةَ عَنْ صَفْوَانَ بْنِ عَسَّالٍ، قَالَ بَعَثَنَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي سَرِيَّةٍ فَقَالَ "سِيرُوا بِاسْمِ اللَّهِ وَفِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ قَاتِلُوا مَنْ كَفَرَ بِاللَّهِ وَلاَ تُمَثِّلُوا وَلاَ تَغْدِرُوا وَلاَ تَغُلُّوا وَلاَ تَقْتُلُوا وَلِيدًا".

85The earliest narrative sources contain these exact instructions. Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 561.

86 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 943.

87 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 617, *ḥadīth* 3074:

87حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ سَالِمِ بْنِ أَبِي الْجَعْدِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، قَالَ كَانَ عَلَى ثَقَلِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم رَجُلٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ كِرْكِرَةُ فَمَاتَ، فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم "هُوَ فِي النَّارِ". فَذَهَبُوا يَنْظُرُونَ إِلَيْهِ فَوَجَدُوا عَبَاءَةً قَدْ غَلَّهَا. قَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ ابْنُ سَلاَمٍ كَرْكَرَةُ، يَعْنِي بِفَتْحِ الْكَافِ، وَهْوَ مَضْبُوطٌ كَذَا.

88 — Charles James Lyall, ed., *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt. An anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes. Compiled by al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Muḥammad, according to the recension and with the commentary of Abū Muḥammad al-Anbārī. Edited for the first time with translation and notes by Sir Charles J. Lyall* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), p. 182.

89 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 182.

90 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 720-721, *ḥadīth* 3595.

91 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 282, 720-721, *aḥādīth* 1413, 3595; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2008), Vol. 5, pp. 46-47, *ḥadīth* 2954.

92 — *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:33:

> 92The punishment of those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger, and strive to make trouble throughout the land is that they are killed, or crucified, or have opposite hands and feet cut off, or are exiled from the land; That is their disgrace in this life, and a heavy punishment in the Hereafter.
>
> 92إِنَّمَا جَزَاء الَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ اللّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِي الأَرْضِ فَسَاداً أَن يُقَتَّلُواْ أَوْ يُصَلَّبُواْ أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُم مِّنْ خِلافٍ أَوْ يُنفَوْاْ مِنَ الأَرْضِ ذَلِكَ لَهُمْ خِزْيٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَلَهُمْ فِي الآخِرَةِ عَذَابٌ عَظِيمٌ
>
> 92Cf. Sadia Tabassum, "Combatants, Not Bandits: The Status of Rebels in Islamic law," *International Review of the Red Cross*, Volume 93, No. 881 (March 2011), pp. 1-19.

93 — *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, pp. 532-533, *ḥadīth* 2858.

94 — Joel Hayward, "Justice, Jihad, and Duty: The Qur'anic Concept of Armed Conflict", *Islam and Civilizational Renewal*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (July 2018), pp. 267-303.

95 — Fred Donner, "The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War" in John Kelsay and James Turner Johnson, eds., *Just War and Jihad: Historical and Theoretical Perspectives on War and Peace in Western and Islamic Traditions* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), p. 47.

96 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:69.

97 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:41, *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:19 and 20.

98 — *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:15.

99 — *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2010), Vol. 10, pp. 226-227; *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Assriya, 2013), Vol. 8, p. 72-73.

100 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 999-1000, *ḥadīth* 4907.

101 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 648-649, *ḥadīth* 1771a:

101وَحَدَّثَنِي أَبُو الطَّاهِرِ، وَحَرْمَلَةُ، قَالاَ أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ، أَخْبَرَنِي يُونُسُ، عَنِ ابْنِ، شِهَابٍ عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، قَالَ لَمَّا قَدِمَ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ مِنْ مَكَّةَ الْمَدِينَةَ قَدِمُوا وَلَيْسَ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ شَىْءٌ وَكَانَ الأَنْصَارُ أَهْلَ الأَرْضِ وَالْعَقَارِ فَقَاسَمَهُمُ الأَنْصَارُ عَلَى أَنْ أَعْطَوْهُمْ أَنْصَافَ ثِمَارِ أَمْوَالِهِمْ كُلَّ عَامٍ وَيَكْفُونَهُمُ الْعَمَلَ وَالْمَئُونَةَ وَكَانَتْ أُمُّ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ وَهْىَ تُدْعَى أُمَّ سُلَيْمٍ - وَكَانَتْ أُمَّ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي طَلْحَةَ كَانَ أَخًا لأَنَسٍ لأُمِّهِ - وَكَانَتْ أَعْطَتْ أُمُّ أَنَسٍ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عِذَاقًا لَهَا فَأَعْطَاهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أُمَّ أَيْمَنَ مَوْلاَتَهُ أُمَّ أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ . قَالَ ابْنُ شِهَابٍ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَسُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم لَمَّا فَرَغَ مِنْ قِتَالِ أَهْلِ خَيْبَرَ وَانْصَرَفَ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ رَدَّ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ إِلَى الأَنْصَارِ مَنَائِحَهُمُ الَّتِي كَانُوا مَنَحُوهُمْ مِنْ ثِمَارِهِمْ - قَالَ - فَرَدَّ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِلَى أُمِّي عِذَاقَهَا وَأَعْطَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أُمَّ أَيْمَنَ مَكَانَهُنَّ مِنْ حَائِطِهِ . قَالَ ابْنُ شِهَابٍ وَكَانَ مِنْ شَأْنِ أُمِّ أَيْمَنَ أُمِّ أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ أَنَّهَا كَانَتْ وَصِيفَةً لِعَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُطَّلِبِ وَكَانَتْ مِنَ الْحَبَشَةِ فَلَمَّا وَلَدَتْ آمِنَةُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَعْدَ مَا تُوُفِّيَ أَبُوهُ فَكَانَتْ أُمُّ أَيْمَنَ تَحْضُنُهُ حَتَّى كَبِرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَأَعْتَقَهَا ثُمَّ أَنْكَحَهَا زَيْدَ بْنَ حَارِثَةَ ثُمَّ تُوُفِّيَتْ بَعْدَ مَا تُوُفِّيَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِخَمْسَةِ أَشْهُرٍ .

101See also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 400, 545, 755, *aḥādīth* 2325, 2719, 3782.

102 — *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 4, p. 369, *ḥadīth* 2487.

103 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 519-520, *ḥadīth* 2630:

103حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ، حَدَّثَنَا يُونُسُ، عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ، عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ لَمَّا قَدِمَ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ الْمَدِينَةَ مِنْ مَكَّةَ وَلَيْسَ بِأَيْدِيهِمْ ـ يَعْنِي شَيْئًا ـ وَكَانَتِ الأَنْصَارُ أَهْلَ الأَرْضِ وَالْعَقَارِ، فَقَاسَمَهُمُ الأَنْصَارُ عَلَى أَنْ يُعْطُوهُمْ ثِمَارَ أَمْوَالِهِمْ كُلَّ عَامٍ وَيَكْفُوهُمُ الْعَمَلَ وَالْمَئُونَةَ، وَكَانَتْ أُمُّهُ أُمُّ أَنَسٍ أُمُّ سُلَيْمٍ كَانَتْ أَمَّ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي طَلْحَةَ، فَكَانَتْ أَعْطَتْ أُمُّ أَنَسٍ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عِذَاقًا فَأَعْطَاهُنَّ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم أُمَّ أَيْمَنَ مَوْلاَتَهُ أُمَّ أُسَامَةَ بْنِ زَيْدٍ. قَالَ ابْنُ شِهَابٍ فَأَخْبَرَنِي أَنَسُ بْنُ مَالِكٍ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه

وسلم لَمَّا فَرَغَ مِنْ قَتْلِ أَهْلِ خَيْبَرَ فَانْصَرَفَ إِلَى الْمَدِينَةِ، رَدَّ الْمُهَاجِرُونَ إِلَى الأَنْصَارِ مَنَائِحَهُمُ الَّتِي كَانُوا مَنَحُوهُمْ مِنْ ثِمَارِهِمْ فَرَدَّ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِلَى أُمِّهِ عِذَاقَهَا، وَأَعْطَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أُمَّ أَيْمَنَ مَكَانَهُنَّ مِنْ حَائِطِهِ. وَقَالَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ شَبِيبٍ أَخْبَرَنَا أَبِي عَنْ يُونُسَ بِهَذَا، وَقَالَ مَكَانَهُنَّ مِنْ خَالِصِهِ.

103Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 648-649, *ḥadīth* 1771a.

104 — Quoted in Marisa Farrugia, “War and Peace in pre-Islamic Arabic Poetry,” *Humanitas: Journal of the Faculty of Arts* [University of Malta], Vol. 2 (2003), pp. 143-153.

105 — Donner, “The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War,” p. 34.

106 — Ella Landau-Tasseron, “The Sinful Wars: Religious, Social, and Historical Aspects of the Ḥurūb al-Fijār,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 8 (1986), pp. 37-59.

107 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 338-339.

108 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 37-38.

109 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Ma‘arif li-l-Taba‘a wa-l-Nashr, 1987), p. 26.

110 — Cf. Werner Caskel, “‘Aijām al-‘Arab’: Studien zur altarabischen Epik,” *Islamica*, Vol. 3 (fasc. 5) (Ergänzungsheft), pp. 1-99; Egbert Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Aiyäm al-‘Arab* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970); El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, pp. 18-22.

111 — Michael Philip Penn, *When Christians First Met Muslims: A Sourcebook of the Earliest Syriac Writings on Islam* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015), p. 92; Fred Donner, “Fight for God—But Do So with Kindness: Reflections on War, Peace, and Communal Identity in Early Islam,” in Kurt Raaflaub, ed., *War and Peace in the Ancient World* (Malden & Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 297-311, esp. pp. 307-308.

112 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” p. 1142.

113 — Donner, “The Sources of Islamic Conceptions of War,” p. 34.

114 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” p. 1141.

115 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 6.

116 — Charles James Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, Chiefly Pre-Islamic* (London: Williams & Norgate), p. 44.

117 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 37.

118 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 17.

119 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 70.

120 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 315.

121 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 96.

122 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 336.

123 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 348. See p. 235: “and I have clad myself in the armament of a man of good judgement who endures hardship patiently”.

124 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 10-11.

125 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 337.

126 — Charles James Lyall, ed., *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ, of Asad, and ‘Āmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufail, of ‘Āmir ibn Ṣa’ṣa’ah, edited for the first time, from the ms. in the British Museum, and Supplied with a Translation and Notes* (Leyden: E.J. Brill, 1913), p. 26.

127 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 18.

128 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 31.

129 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 287.

130 — Jibrail S. Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995 ed.), pp. 474-523.

131 — Kurt Franz, “The Bedouin in History or Bedouin History?”, *Nomadic Peoples*, Vol. 15, No. 1, *Special Issue: Nomads in the Political Field* (2011), pp. 11-53.

132 — Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* Oriental Explorations and Studies No. 6 (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928).

133 — Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 504.

134 — Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 504.

135 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 552.

136 — Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, p. 349.

137 — Fred Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 17.

138 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” p. 1139.

139 — Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 507.

140 — H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Bawadin Life in Kuwait and Sau’di Arabia* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1936), p. 341.

141 — Dickson, *The Arab of the Desert*, p. 341.

142 — Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, p. 354.

143 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” p. 1146.

144 — Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, p. 522.

145 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” pp. 1144-45.

146 — William Lancaster, *The Rwala Bedouin Today* (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 1981. Second edition, 1997), p. 141.

147 — Lancaster, *The Rwala Bedouin Today*, p. 142.

148 — William Gifford Palgrave, *Personal Narrative of a Year’s Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63)* (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1871), p. 23.

149 — Palgrave, *Personal Narrative*, p. 23.

150 — Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert*, p. 310.

151 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 7; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 804. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 3. See also Michael Cook, “Muḥammad’s Deputies in Medina,” *Al-‘Uṣūr al-Wusṭā* 23 (2015), p. 5.

152 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 753-754.

153 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 88-91.

154 — John Glubb, *The Life and Times of Muhammad* (New York: Stein and Day, 1970), p. 70.

155 — *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad* (Cairo: Al-Kuds, 2007), p. 214, *ḥadīth* 577:

155حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ جَعْفَرٍ، قَالَ: حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، سَمِعْتُ أَبَا إِسْحَاقَ، سَمِعْتُ عَبْدَةَ بْنَ حَزْنٍ يَقُولُ: تَفَاخَرَ أَهْلُ الإِبِلِ وَأَصْحَابُ الشَّاءِ، فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم: بُعِثَ مُوسَى وَهُوَ رَاعِي غَنَمٍ، وَبُعِثَ دَاوُدُ وَهُوَ رَاعٍ، وَبُعِثْتُ أَنَا وَأَنَا أَرْعَى غَنَمًا لأَهْلِي بِأَجْيَادٍ.

155And *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 439, *ḥadīth* 2262:

155Abū Huraira narrated that the Prophet s said, “Allah did not send any prophet except those who shepherded sheep.” His companions asked him, “Did you do the same?” The Prophet s replied, “Yes, I used to shepherd the sheep of the people of Mecca for a little payment.”

155حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ الْمَكِّيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ يَحْيَى، عَنْ جَدِّهِ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ رضى الله عنه عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ ”مَا بَعَثَ اللَّهُ نَبِيًّا إِلاَّ رَعَى الْغَنَمَ“. فَقَالَ أَصْحَابُهُ وَأَنْتَ؟ فَقَالَ: ”نَعَمْ كُنْتُ أَرْعَاهَا عَلَى قَرَارِيطَ لأَهْلِ مَكَّةَ“.

156 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 91.

157 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 1053, 1164, *aḥādīth* 5146, 5767; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd* (Riyadh: Dār al-Haddarah lil-Nasha wa-l-Tawzi‘, 2015), p. 622, *ḥadīth* 5011; *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, pp. 319-320, *ḥadīth* 872.

158 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 782.

159 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1392, *ḥadīth* 7087; Meir Jacob Kister, “Land Property and Jihad: A Discussion of Some Early Traditions,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1991), p. 280.

160 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 782.

161 — Cf. *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, p. 214, *ḥadīth* 578. On the difference between *bay‘a al-hijra* and *bay‘a ‘arabiyya*, and their implications for Bedouins in relation to Medina, see Kister, “Land Property and Jihad,” pp. 279-280.

162 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 441, *ḥadīth* 3477.

163 — *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, p. 381, *ḥadīth* 2473; *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 370, *ḥadīth* 1272, Al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 2016), Vol. 1, p. 553, *ḥadīth* 3001.

164 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 459, *ḥadīth* 2348:

164حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سِنَانٍ، حَدَّثَنَا فُلَيْحٌ، حَدَّثَنَا هِلاَلٌ، وَحَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو عَامِرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا فُلَيْحٌ، عَنْ هِلاَلِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ، عَنْ عَطَاءِ بْنِ يَسَارٍ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم كَانَ يَوْمًا يُحَدِّثُ وَعِنْدَهُ رَجُلٌ مِنْ أَهْلِ الْبَادِيَةِ ‏ “أَنَّ رَجُلاً مِنْ أَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ اسْتَأْذَنَ رَبَّهُ فِي الزَّرْعِ فَقَالَ لَهُ أَلَسْتَ فِيمَا شِئْتَ قَالَ بَلَى وَلَكِنِّي أُحِبُّ أَنْ أَزْرَعَ. قَالَ فَبَذَرَ فَبَادَرَ الطَّرْفَ نَبَاتُهُ وَاسْتِوَاؤُهُ وَاسْتِحْصَادُهُ، فَكَانَ أَمْثَالَ الْجِبَالِ فَيَقُولُ اللَّهُ دُونَكَ يَا ابْنَ آدَمَ، فَإِنَّهُ لاَ يُشْبِعُكَ شَىْءٌ”. فَقَالَ الأَعْرَابِيُّ وَاللَّهِ لاَ تَجِدُهُ إِلاَّ قُرَشِيًّا أَوْ أَنْصَارِيًّا، فَإِنَّهُمْ أَصْحَابُ زَرْعٍ، وَأَمَّا نَحْنُ فَلَسْنَا بِأَصْحَابِ زَرْعٍ. فَضَحِكَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم.

165 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:97, 101, 120 and *Sūrah al-Ḥujurāt* 49:14.

166 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:20.

167 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:16.

168 — Sweet, “Camel Raiding of North Arabian Bedouin,” p. 1133.

169 — Reuven Firestone, *Jihad: The Origin of Holy War in Islam* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 34.

170 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 48.

171 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 48; "GHAZW", *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 2, pp. 1055-1056.

172 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 327, 329.

173 — Joel Hayward, *"War is Deceit": An Analysis of a Contentious ḥadīth on the Morality of Military Deception* English Monograph Series — Book No. 24 (Amman: Royal Islamic Strategic Studies Centre / Royal Aal al-Bayt Institute for Islamic Thought, 2017).

174 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 342, Vol. 2, pp. 538, 552, 564, 569; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 588; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 61-65; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 421. Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 610, 835-836, *aḥādīth* 3041, 4194.

175 — Cf. *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 421-426.

176 — Cf. *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, pp. 520-521, *ḥadīth* 2827; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, pp. 530-531, *ḥadīth* 1555; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 890.

177 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 410; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 47-48.

178 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 48.

179 — Cf. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 325.

180 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 402-404; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 546.

181 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 339-343.

182 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 439-444, 583-585, 811-812, 823; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 172-173, 174-175, 184-193, Vol. 2, p. 531-533; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 20, 21, 24-26, 39, 70.

183 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 990.

184 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 13; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 333.

185 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 534, 564, 728, 753, 755, 778, Vol. 3, p. 981; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 4-5, 48, 61, 96.

186 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 342; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 38.

187 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1119, *ḥadīth* 5494; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 14-15.

188 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 50.

189 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 592, *ḥadīth* 2943:

189حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا مُعَاوِيَةُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو إِسْحَاقَ، عَنْ حُمَيْدٍ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَنَسًا ـ رضى الله عنه ـ يَقُولُ كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِذَا غَزَا قَوْمًا لَمْ يُغِرْ حَتَّى يُصْبِحَ، فَإِنْ سَمِعَ أَذَانًا أَمْسَكَ، وَإِنْ لَمْ يَسْمَعْ أَذَانًا أَغَارَ بَعْدَ مَا يُصْبِحُ، فَنَزَلْنَا خَيْبَرَ لَيْلاً.

189See Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 551: One raiding party of eleven Muslims reached their destination just before dark, so they put off fighting until dawn. In the meantime, the tribe under attack, which had actually known of the Muslims' approach, pounced upon them as soon as they fell asleep.

189Note: there seem to have been one or two exceptions to this rule on raids not led by Muḥammad. Ibn Hishām narrates one night raid (led by Ghālib ibn 'Abdullāh al-Kalbi) that needs further analysis. See Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 813. See also Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 985.

190 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 778.

191 — Literally "Make him dead!". Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 8, 262, 407, Vol. 2, pp. 546, 722, 724, 752, et al.; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 67; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 329, 333-334, *aḥādīth* 2596, 2638.

192 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 536.

193 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 722.

194 — See Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 38, 96, 106, 275, 280, 284, 306, 314, 315; El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 101.

195 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 555, 729, 771.

196 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 1376-1377, *ḥadīth* 6998.

197 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 536.

198 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 754-755.

199 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 327; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 4.

200 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 10.

201 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 327-329.

202 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 10. Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 332) says there were only eight raiders.

203 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 12, 388; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 331.

204 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, p. 210.

205 — Uri Rubin, “Barā’a: A Study of Some Quranic Passages,” *Jerusalem* Studies *in Arabic and Islam*, 5 (1984), pp. 13-32, esp. pp. 21-22.

206 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 799, 820, Vol. 3, pp. 896, 990.

207 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 783.

208 — Cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 41. For these traditional leadership responsibilities see Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 296:

> 208“I bore the bloodwit [الدية, *diya*, the blood money] of the man of Quraish in their stead, and would have no wrongdoing or outwitting one another / Thus do I accustom the wise men after me to do the like, whensoever just claims come upon the various groups [that make up the tribe] / … And I stand as the sufficient protector of people against trouble which has allowed them to see only patches of sky overhead / And [other] people shrink in dread from me and my helpers, as the old she-camels shrink when they fear the cord [which is tied round their thighs to make them yield milk] / Yea, I will bear the burden of the bloodwit … / And if I praise myself for this [great deed], verily I did therein on that morning a thing that was most right / And my wont has always been, when a great matter overwhelmed my people with its difficulties, to rise to the height of it, not to creep like a coward before it / First I praise God, and next the bounty of those men who make it their business to redeem plundered herds and captives.”
>
> 208Cf. *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 556, *ḥadīth* 1604. Some scholars see this *ḥadīth* as weak because of the chain of narrators.

209 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 689. Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 859, 1409-1410, *aḥādīth* 7189, 4339; *Sunan al-Nasā’i*, p. 734, *ḥadīth* 5407.

210 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 882.

211 — Ziauddin Ahmad, “Financial Policies of the Holy Prophet: A Case Study of the Distribution of Ghanima in Early Islam”, *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Spring 1975), pp. 9-25, esp. p. 10.

212 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 17, 18; Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 237, 238.

213 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

214 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 478.

215 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 335.

216 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 779-780. See also p. 535.

217 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 278, 617, *aḥādīth* 1395, 3072. *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:38.

218 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 626-628.

219 — Ziauddin Ahmad, “Financial Policies”, p. 10.

220 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 626, *ḥadīth* 3117.

221 — Ziauddin Ahmad, “Financial Policies”, p. 11.

222 — Ibid., p. 16.

223 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 642-643, *ḥadīth* 1757a, 1757c; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 634, *ḥadīth* 3151, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 379, 380, 385, *aḥādīth* 2965, 2971 (with a weak chain), 3004; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 379, 380.

224 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 562, *ḥadīth* 2781. Cf. p. 1096, *ḥadīth* 5371:

224حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ بُكَيْرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا اللَّيْثُ، عَنْ عُقَيْلٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ شِهَابٍ، عَنْ أَبِي سَلَمَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم كَانَ يُؤْتَى بِالرَّجُلِ الْمُتَوَفَّى عَلَيْهِ الدَّيْنُ، فَيَسْأَلُ ” هَلْ تَرَكَ لِدَيْنِهِ فَضْلاً “. فَإِنْ حُدِّثَ أَنَّهُ تَرَكَ وَفَاءً صَلَّى، وَإِلاَّ قَالَ لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ ” صَلُّوا عَلَى صَاحِبِكُمْ “. فَلَمَّا فَتَحَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ الْفُتُوحَ قَالَ ”أَنَا أَوْلَى بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ، فَمَنْ تُوُفِّيَ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَتَرَكَ دَيْنًا فَعَلَىَّ قَضَاؤُهُ، وَمَنْ تَرَكَ مَالاً فَلِوَرَثَتِهِ“.

225 — Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-Kubrā* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥādītha, 1967), Vol. 3, pp. 287-288.

226 — Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 4.

227 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 343, Vol. 2, pp. 520, 674-675; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

228 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 14-16; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 333-334.

229 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 138-147; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 13; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, pp. 361, 363. Siddiq (“Role of Booty,” op. cit., p. 88) calculates that “the gross value of the ransom paid by the Makkan captives of Badr would have been around 115,000 dirhams.”

230 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-180; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

231 — It would seem that the final rehousing of the last of the *Muhājirūn* was only accomplished after the seizing of Banū al-Naḍīr houses: Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p.

28; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 379-380.

232 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 192; Michael Lecker, "Glimpses of Muhammad's Medinan Decade," in Jonathan E. Brockopp, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Muhammad* (Cambridge, New York et al: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 66; Michael Lecker, "Muhammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 6 (1985), pp. 29-62.

233 — Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā Ista'jam*, ed. Muṣṭafá Saqqā (Cairo: Maṭba'at Lajnat al-ta'līf wa-al-tarjamah wa-l-nashr, 1941-1945), Vol. 3, p. 953; Kister, "Land Property and Jihad," p. 304.

234 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

235 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 313.

236 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 192-193; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 400; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 27-28.

237 — Moshe Gil, "The Earliest Waqf Foundations," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (April 1998), p. 126.

238 — Gil, "The Earliest Waqf Foundations,", p. 128. Lecker, "Glimpses of Muhammad's Medinan Decade," p. 68.

239 — Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā' fī Sharḥ Abī Shujā'* (Al-Kuwayt: Dār al-Ḍiyā' lil-Nashr wa al-Tawzī', 2005), p. 62.

240 — Cf. Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 37; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1119, *ḥadīth* 5494.

241 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 587.

242 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 562; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 449.

243 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 726.

244 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 560, Vol. 3, p. 882. *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 461.

245 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 197.

246 — See the chapter on strategy in this author's book, *The Leadership of Muhammad: A Historical Reconstruction* (Swansea: Claritas Books, 2021), pp. 61-70. I am especially persuaded by the strategy proposed by Fred Donner, "Mecca's Food Supplies and Muhammad's Boycott," *Journal of the Economic and* Social History of the Orient, Vol. 20, No. 3 (October 1977), pp. 249-266.

247 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 741, 750-7510, Vol. 3, p. 981.

248 — Salahi, *Muhammad*, p. 249.

249 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 728.

250 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 345.

251 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 47.

252 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 726.

253 — See Landau-Tasseron, “Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army,” pp. 307-308.

254 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 182, Vol. 2, p. 726; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 435; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 43.

255 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 23; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 183 (miscounting, Al-Wāqidī says each participant received seven each).

256 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 194-195; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 377.

257 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 379.

258 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 198.

259 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

260 — *Al-Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah*, Vol. 6, p. 631, *ḥadīth* 19770.

261 — Yaḥyā ibn Ādam, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, ed. Hussain Munis (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūk, 1987), p. 114, *ḥadīth* 255:

> 261أخبرنا إسماعيل قال: حدثنا الحسن قال: حدثنا يحيى قال: حدثنا قيس عن بُرد أبي العلاء عن مكحول قال: قال رسول الله s: جعلَ رِزقَ هذه الأُمَّةِ في سَنابكِ خيلِها، وأزجَّةِ رماحِها ما لم يَزرَعوا، فإذا زَرعوا كانوا من النَّاسِ
>
> 261This *ḥadīth* is considered weak by Albani (for a claimed flaw in the *isnād*), but not by all *muḥaddithūn*.

262 — Ibn Shabba, *Kitāb Ta’rīkh Madīna al-Munawara: Akhbār al-Madīna al-Nabawīya*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Dandal and Yāsīn Sa‘d al-Dīn Bayān (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1990), p. 632.

263 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1022.

264 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 336.

265 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 341; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 38.

266 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 753-754; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*,

Vol. 2, pp. 96-97.

267 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 754-755; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 122-123.

268 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 642. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81. Here الخميس means الجيش. See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 601, 729, *aḥādīth* 2991 and 3647.

269 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 502, *ḥadīth* 2541:

269حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ، أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ عَوْنٍ، قَالَ كَتَبْتُ إِلَى نَافِعٍ فَكَتَبَ إِلَيَّ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم أَغَارَ عَلَى بَنِي الْمُصْطَلِقِ وَهُمْ غَارُّونَ وَأَنْعَامُهُمْ تُسْقَى عَلَى الْمَاءِ، فَقَتَلَ مُقَاتِلَتَهُمْ، وَسَبَى ذَرَارِيَّهُمْ، وَأَصَابَ يَوْمَئِذٍ جُوَيْرِيَةَ. حَدَّثَنِي بِهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ، وَكَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْجَيْشِ.

269See also *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 333, *ḥadīth* 2633.

270 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 407; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 423 copies al-Wāqidī almost verbatim, saying that ‘Umar told the Banū al-Muṣṭaliq to profess monotheism (توحيد, tawḥīd), but without any attempt at negotiating it.

271 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 594; Similarly, al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 423 says that “Allah plundered … ”.

272 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 48-50.

273 — See Ibn Hishām’s note in Alfred Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ishāq’s Sirat Rasūl Allāh* (Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 768, note 738.

274 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 48-50.

275 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2., p. 423.

276 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 409.

277 — Hoyland, *In God’s Path*, p. 64.

278 — Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs fi Aḥwal Anfas Nafīs* (Cairo: Bimaṭba‘a al-Faqīr ‘Uthman ‘Abd al-Razāk, 1884), Vol. 2, p. 47.

279 — The triliteral root jīm hā dāl (ج ه د) occurs 41 times in the Quran, in five derived forms: 27 times as the form III verb *jāhada* (جٰهَدَ), usually translated as “struggle” or “struggled”; four times as the noun *jihād* (جِهَاد), usually translated as “a struggle” or “a striving”; once as the noun *juh’d* (جُهْد), translated as “their struggle”; five times as the verbal noun *jahd* (جَهْد), meaning “strongest” or “firmest” (as in they gave their strongest oath); and four times as the form III active participle *mujāhidīn* (مُجٰهِدِين), usually rendered as “those who struggle” or “those who strive”.

280 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 467, *ḥadīth* 1353c:

280حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ يَحْيَى، وَإِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، قَالاَ أَخْبَرَنَا جَرِيرٌ، عَنْ مَنْصُورٍ، عَنْ مُجَاهِدٍ، عَنْ طَاوُسٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَوْمَ الْفَتْحِ فَتْحِ مَكَّةَ "لاَ هِجْرَةَ وَلَكِنْ جِهَادٌ وَنِيَّةٌ وَإِذَا اسْتُنْفِرْتُمْ فَانْفِرُوا".

281 — *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, Vol. 2, p. 44, *ḥadīth* 3920:

281وَعَن سهلِ بن مُعاذٍ عَن أبيهِ قَالَ: غَزَوْنَا مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَضَيَّقَ النَّاسُ الْمَنَازِلَ وَقَطَعُوا الطَّرِيقَ فَبَعَثَ نَبِيُّ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مُنَادِيًا يُنادي فِي النَّاسِ:"أَنَّ مَنْ ضَيَّقَ مَنْزِلًا أَوْ قَطَعَ طَرِيقًا فَلَا جِهَادَ لَهُ".

282 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 991. Emphasis added.

283 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 20-21. Cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 8.

284 — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:216:

284كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِتَالُ وَهُوَ كُرْهٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَى أَن تَكْرَهُواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لَّكُمْ وَعَسَى أَن تُحِبُّواْ شَيْئًا وَهُوَ شَرٌّ لَّكُمْ وَاللّهُ يَعْلَمُ وَأَنتُمْ لاَ تَعْلَمُونَ

285 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

286 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 20.

287 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 20. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 336. Ibn Hishām identifies mixed enthusiasm.

288 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 346-350, 354-363; Ibn Hishām (who gives lower casualty figures), *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 517-527, 527-529; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 39-42, 42-43; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 37-40, 67. See also Meir Jacob Kister’s marvelous chapter, “The Expedition of Bi’r Ma‘ūna,” in George Makdisi, ed., *Arabic and Islamic studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), pp. 337-357, and Nabia Abbott’s “Document 5. Campaigns of Muḥammad,” in Nabia Abbott, ed., *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I: Historical Texts* The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications. Vol. LXXV. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 65-79.

289 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 23.

290 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

291 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 216.

292 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 551, *ḥadīth* 4406:

292حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ، حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى، عَنْ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ، قَالَ أَخْبَرَنِي نَافِعٌ،

عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صَلى الله عليه وسلم عُرِضَهُ يَوْمَ أُحُدٍ وَهُوَ ابْنُ أَرْبَعَ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً فَلَمْ يُجِزْهُ وَعُرِضَهُ يَوْمَ الْخَنْدَقِ وَهُوَ ابْنُ خَمْسَ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً فَأَجَازَهُ .

293 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1193, *ḥadīth* 5964.

294 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 834; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 110, 850, *aḥādīth* 504, 4289.

295 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 813; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 723-725.

296 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1117-1119; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 191-192; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 747, 884, 1409, *aḥādīth* 3730, 4469, 7187; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 874, *ḥadīth* 2426a.

297 — *Sūrah Muḥammad* 47:20; *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:42, 81, 86, 87 and 93; *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:18ff.

298 — *Sūrah al-Nisā’* 4:95.

299 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 195, 198.

300 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 209, Vol. 3, pp. 1008, 1034.

301 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 25, *ḥadīth* 146; Cf. Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, p. 20.

302 — Cf. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 39.

303 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 726.

304 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 24; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 346.

305 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 26.

306 — Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 433.

307 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 346.

308 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 15-16.

309 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 823, *ḥadīth* 4128:

309حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ الْعَلاَءِ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو أُسَامَةَ، عَنْ بُرَيْدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي بُرْدَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي بُرْدَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي مُوسَى ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ خَرَجْنَا مَعَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي غَزَاةٍ وَنَحْنُ سِتَّةُ نَفَرٍ بَيْنَنَا بَعِيرٌ نَعْتَقِبُهُ، فَنَقِبَتْ أَقْدَامُنَا وَنَقِبَتْ قَدَمَاىَ وَسَقَطَتْ أَظْفَارِي، وَكُنَّا نَلُفُّ عَلَى أَرْجُلِنَا الْخِرَقَ، فَسُمِّيَتْ غَزْوَةَ ذَاتِ الرِّقَاعِ، لِمَا كُنَّا نَعْصِبُ مِنَ الْخِرَقِ عَلَى أَرْجُلِنَا، وَحَدَّثَ أَبُو مُوسَى بِهَذَا، ثُمَّ كَرِهَ ذَاكَ، قَالَ مَا كُنْتُ أَصْنَعُ بِأَنْ أَذْكُرَهُ. كَأَنَّهُ

كَرِهَ أَنْ يَكُونَ شَيْءٌ مِنْ عَمَلِهِ أَفْشَاهُ.

310 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 998.

311 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 635-636.

312 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 732.

313 — *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:95 et al.

314 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 991.

315 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 35-38.

316 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 32-34.

317 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 320, *ḥadīth* 2503:

317حَدَّثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ عُثْمَانَ، وَقَرَأْتُهُ، عَلَى يَزِيدَ بْنِ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ الْجُرْجُسِيِّ قَالاَ حَدَّثَنَا الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ مُسْلِمٍ، عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، عَنِ الْقَاسِمِ أَبِي عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، عَنْ أَبِي أُمَامَةَ، عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ: "مَنْ لَمْ يَغْزُ أَوْ يُجَهِّزْ غَازِيًا أَوْ يَخْلُفْ غَازِيًا فِي أَهْلِهِ بِخَيْرٍ أَصَابَهُ اللَّهُ بِقَارِعَةٍ". قَالَ يَزِيدُ بْنُ عَبْدِ رَبِّهِ فِي حَدِيثِهِ: "قَبْلَ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ".

318 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 575, *ḥadīth* 2843; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 698, *ḥadīth* 1895b.*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 710, *ḥadīth* 1935a.

319 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 796.

320 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 770.

321 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 575.

322 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 27, 399, Vol. 2, pp. 576, 733.

323 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 774.

324 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1119, *ḥadīth* 5495; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 712, *ḥadīth* 1952a, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, Vol. 2, p. 81, *ḥadīth* 4113.

325 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1036-1037.

326 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 547; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 263.

327 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 710-711, *aḥādīth* 1935a and b.

328 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 820-821; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 776-777.

329 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 710-711, *aḥādīth* 1935a and b; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 604, *aḥādīth* 4351, 4352, 4353; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 4, p. 364, *ḥadīth* 2475; *Riyad al-Salihin* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyah, 2012), p. 205, *ḥadīth* 523.

330 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1114. See also Vol. 2, p. 537.

331 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:26.

332 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:177, 249; *Sūrah al-'Imrān* 3:142, 146; *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:66 et al.

333 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 190, 208, 284, Vol. 2, p. 467 et al.

334 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 54.

335 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 57.

336 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 396.

337 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 538.

338 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, pp. 419-420.

339 — *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:102.

340 — *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, Vol. 1, p. 458, *ḥadīth* 2455:

340وَعَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيِّ قَالَ: قُلْنَا يَوْمَ الْخَنْدَقِ: يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هَلْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ نَقُولُهُ؟ فَقَدْ بَلَغَتِ الْقُلُوبُ الْحَنَاجِرَ قَالَ: «نَعَمْ اللَّهُمَّ اسْتُرْ عَوْرَاتِنَا وَآمِنْ رَوْعَاتِنَا» قَالَ: فَضَرَبَ اللَّهُ وُجُوهَ أَعْدَائِهِ بِالرِّيحِ وَهَزَمَ اللَّهُ بِالرِّيحِ. رَوَاهُ أَحْمد

341 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 554.

342 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 67.

343 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 350.

344 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 588, 991, *aḥādīth* 2915, 4875, 4877; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 645, *ḥadīth* 1763.

345 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 350.

346 — *Riyad al-Salihin*, p. 435, *ḥadīth* 1335:

346وعن أبي موسى، رضي الله عنه أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كان إذا خاف قومًا قال:" اللهم إنا نجعلك في نحورهم، ونعوذ بك من شرورهم ".

346See also *Riyad al-Salihin*, p. 345, *ḥadīth* 988.

347 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 560, *ḥadīth* 2766; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 324, *ḥadīth* 2536; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, pp. 518, 560, *aḥādīth* 3701, 4009.

348 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:15, 16.

349 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 394.

350 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 460; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 243.

351 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 700-701; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 899, 910; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 854, *ḥadīth* 4315, 4317.

352 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 276.

353 — *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, p. 116, *ḥadīth* 296.

354 — City dwellers were then only around 17 percent of the population of the *Ḥijaz*. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present* (London and Basingstoke: The Macmillian Press, 1937. Tenth Edition, 1970), p. 98; Watt, “Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War,” p. 141; Von Grunebaum, “The Nature of Arab Unity before Islam,” p. 2.

355 — Watt, “Islamic Conceptions of the Holy War,” p. 141.

356 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 728.

357 — Cf. *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:178 and *Sūrah al-Mā’idah* 5:45.

358 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 13, p. 158; Werner Caskel, *Gămharat an-Nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hisăm ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), Vol. 2 (*Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln*), p. 475.

359 — Muḥammad added that, if they found themselves across a battlefield and a clash was inevitable, the Muslim warriors should “ask Allah for protection, be patient, and remember that Paradise is under the shade of swords”: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 607, *aḥādīth* 3024, 3025:

> 359حَدَّثَنَا يُوسُفُ بْنُ مُوسَى، حَدَّثَنَا عَاصِمُ بْنُ يُوسُفَ الْيَرْبُوعِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو إِسْحَاقَ الْفَزَارِيُّ، عَنْ مُوسَى بْنِ عُقْبَةَ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي سَالِمٌ أَبُو النَّضْرِ، مَوْلَى عُمَرَ بْنِ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ كُنْتُ كَاتِبًا لَهُ قَالَ كَتَبَ إِلَيْهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ أَبِي أَوْفَى حِينَ خَرَجَ إِلَى الْحَرُورِيَّةِ فَقَرَأْتُهُ فَإِذَا فِيهِ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي بَعْضِ أَيَّامِهِ الَّتِي لَقِيَ فِيهَا الْعَدُوَّ انْتَظَرَ حَتَّى مَالَتِ الشَّمْسُ. ثُمَّ قَامَ فِي النَّاسِ فَقَالَ ”أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ لاَ تَمَنَّوْا لِقَاءَ الْعَدُوِّ وَسَلُوا اللَّهَ الْعَافِيَةَ، فَإِذَا لَقِيتُمُوهُمْ فَاصْبِرُوا وَاعْلَمُوا أَنَّ الْجَنَّةَ تَحْتَ ظِلاَلِ السُّيُوفِ ـ ثُمَّ قَالَ ـ اللَّهُمَّ مُنْزِلَ الْكِتَابِ وَمُجْرِيَ السَّحَابِ وَهَازِمَ الأَحْزَابِ اهْزِمْهُمْ وَانْصُرْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ“.
> وَقَالَ مُوسَى بْنُ عُقْبَةَ حَدَّثَنِي سَالِمٌ أَبُو النَّضْرِ كُنْتُ كَاتِبًا لِعُمَرَ بْنِ عُبَيْدِ اللَّهِ فَأَتَاهُ كِتَابُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي أَوْفَى ـ رضى الله عنهما أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ ”لاَ تَمَنَّوْا لِقَاءَ الْعَدُوِّ“.
>
> 359Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 596, 597, 608, *aḥādīth* 2965, 2966, 3026; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 637, *aḥādīth* 1741, 1742a, *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 333, *ḥadīth* 2631.

360 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

361 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 332; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 12.

362 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 10.

363 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 20; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 336.

364 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 364.

365 — Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar*, p, 190.

366 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 336; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 28.

367 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 18-19.

368 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 364.

369 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 178, 179, 208, 510.

370 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 236.

371 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 31.

372 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 32.

373 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 60. This particular plate armor seems to have combined chain mail on sleeves to provide flexible protection for the hands.

374 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 178, 179.

375 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 60.

376 — Cf. Siddiqui, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 188.

377 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 64. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 372; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

378 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 328, 331, 503, et al.; Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 64, 72, 174, 226, 227; Lyall, *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd ibn al-Abras*, p. 47.

379 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 60.

380 — David Alexander, "Swords and Sabers during the Early Islamic Period," *Gladius*, XXI (2001), pp. 193-220; El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, pp. 159, 160.

381 — Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 339; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

382 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 60, 252, 330.

383 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 533. This echoes lines found in an earlier poem: "a glittering sword, that cuts straight through the thing it strikes / Of the best and purest of steel, its edge never ceases to be keen / ancient generations forged and fashioned it / A smooth blade of India when its edge is raised to smite the tops of the helms, the shoulders beneath are not safe from its stroke" (Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 60).

384 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

385 — David Alexander, “Dhu’l-Faqār and the Legacy of the Prophet, Mīrāth Rasūl Allāh,” *Gladius*, XIX (1999), pp. 157-187.

386 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 49. See also pp. 21, 29, 96.

387 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 149a. Spears are mentioned only slightly less.

388 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 36.

389 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 356.

390 — Cf. Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, pp. 26, 125; El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, pp. 192-193.

391 — Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 503; El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 151.

392 — Cf. Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 80, 187; Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 96; Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, pp. 36, 42.

393 — Cf. El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 192: “The fighting can be divided into stages. The first, fighting with bows and arrows, took place while the two armies were still some distance apart, and continued as long as the supplies of arrows lasted. When these were exhausted and the opposing armies drew nearer to one another the second stage commenced — the thrusting with spears; and when they were at close quarters with one another they fought with swords.”; Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, p. 42: “But when spear-play was the business they had in hand / then dyed they deep in blood the upper third of their shafts / And when it was time for the smiting of swords / behold them then like lions that bend above their whelps and repel the foe / And when men shouted — ‘Down to the foot-fight!’ then did they don the mail-coats ample, that fall in folds to the knees.”

394 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 15.

395 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 80. See also pp. 39, 316.

396 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 13.

397 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 247; Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 32; Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, p. 47.

398 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 88. Cf. Lyall, *The Dīwāns of ‘Abīd ibn al-Abraṣ*, pp. 37, 38.

399 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 352.

400 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 110.

401 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 56, 72, 134.

402 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 2.

403 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 3, p. 867.

404 — *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 2, p. 391, *ḥadīth* 1637:

404حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ مَنِيعٍ، حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ هَارُونَ، أَخْبَرَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ أَبِي حُسَيْنٍ، أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَالَ ” إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَيُدْخِلُ بِالسَّهْمِ الْوَاحِدِ ثَلاَثَةً الْجَنَّةَ صَانِعَهُ يَحْتَسِبُ فِي صَنْعَتِهِ الْخَيْرَ وَالرَّامِيَ بِهِ وَالْمُمِدَّ بِهِ ” . وَقَالَ ” ارْمُوا وَارْكَبُوا وَلأَنْ تَرْمُوا أَحَبُّ إِلَىَّ مِنْ أَنْ تَرْكَبُوا كُلُّ مَا يَلْهُو بِهِ الرَّجُلُ الْمُسْلِمُ بَاطِلٌ إِلاَّ رَمْيَهُ بِقَوْسِهِ وَتَأْدِيبَهُ فَرَسَهُ وَمُلاَعَبَتَهُ أَهْلَهُ فَإِنَّهُنَّ مِنَ الْحَقِّ”.

405 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 705, *ḥadīth* 1917:

405حَدَّثَنَا هَارُونُ بْنُ مَعْرُوفٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ، أَخْبَرَنِي عَمْرُو بْنُ الْحَارِثِ، عَنْ أَبِي عَلِيٍّ، ثُمَامَةَ بْنِ شُفَىٍّ أَنَّهُ سَمِعَ عُقْبَةَ بْنَ عَامِرٍ، يَقُولُ سَمِعْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليهوسلم وَهُوَ عَلَى الْمِنْبَرِ يَقُولُ ” وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ أَلاَ إِنَّ الْقُوَّةَ الرَّمْىُ أَلاَإِنَّ الْقُوَّةَ الرَّمْىُ أَلاَ إِنَّ الْقُوَّةَ الرَّمْىُ”.

406 — *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 4, p. 118, *ḥadīth* 3083.

407 — *Sunan al-Nasā’i*, p. 505, *ḥadīth* 3608.

408 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 227.

409 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 93, 253, 279, Vol. 2, p. 662.

410 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 103.

411 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 343.

412 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 340; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 23-24, 27, 100, 101.

413 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 39. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 10; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 347.

414 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

415 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 39.

416 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 39, 41; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 348.

417 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 344; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 31.

418 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 43.

419 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 345.

420 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 45; Maxime Rodinson, *Mohammed* Translated from the French by Anne Carter (Harmondsworth: Penguin edition, 1971), p. 165; Meir Jacob Kister, "On Strangers and Allies in Mecca," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 13 (1990), p. 130.

421 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 344; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 43-44.

422 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 32.

423 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 342; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 351.

424 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 8. See al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 347.

425 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 342.

426 — Ella Landau-Tasseron, *The Religious Foundations of Political Allegiance: A Study of Bay'a in Pre-modern Islam* Research Monographs on the Muslim World, Series No 2, Paper No 4, May, 2010 (Washington DC: Hudson Institute).

427 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 267.

428 — *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:10.

429 — Landau-Tasseron, pp. 5-6.

430 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1400, *ḥadīth* 7202:

430حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ يُوسُفَ، أَخْبَرَنَا مَالِكٌ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ دِينَارٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ ـ رضى الله عنهما ـ قَالَ كُنَّا إِذَا بَايَعْنَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَلَى السَّمْعِ وَالطَّاعَةِ يَقُولُ لَنَا "فِيمَا اسْتَطَعْتَ".

430See also: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 144, *ḥadīth* 7204; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 690, *ḥadīth* 1867; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, p. 537, *ḥadīth* 2868; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 582, *ḥadīth* 4179.

431 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 821.

432 — Cf. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 332, *ḥadīth* 2626; El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 56.

433 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 55.

434 — Cf. *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 332, *ḥadīth* 2626.

435 — *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 581, *ḥadīth* 4168.

436 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 332, *ḥadīth* 2625.

437 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1401, *ḥadīth* 7145:

437حَدَّثَنَا عُمَرُ بْنُ حَفْصِ بْنِ غِيَاثٍ، حَدَّثَنَا أَبِي، حَدَّثَنَا الأَعْمَشُ، حَدَّثَنَا سَعْدُ بْنُ عُبَيْدَةَ، عَنْ أَبِي عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ، عَنْ عَلِيٍّ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ بَعَثَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم سَرِيَّةً، وَأَمَّرَ عَلَيْهِمْ رَجُلاً مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ وَأَمَرَهُمْ أَنْ يُطِيعُوهُ، فَغَضِبَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَقَالَ أَلَيْسَ قَدْ أَمَرَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم أَنَّ تُطِيعُونِي قَالُوا بَلَى. قَالَ عَزَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ لَمَا جَمَعْتُمْ حَطَبًا وَأَوْقَدْتُمْ نَارًا، ثُمَّ دَخَلْتُمْ فِيهَا، فَجَمَعُوا حَطَبًا فَأَوْقَدُوا، فَلَمَّا هَمُّوا بِالدُّخُولِ فَقَامَ يَنْظُرُ بَعْضُهُمْ إِلَى بَعْضٍ، قَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ إِنَّمَا تَبِعْنَا النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِرَارًا مِنَ النَّارِ، أَفَنَدْخُلُهَا، فَبَيْنَمَا هُمْ كَذَلِكَ إِذْ خَمَدَتِ النَّارُ، وَسَكَنَ غَضَبُهُ، فَذُكِرَ لِلنَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَقَالَ "لَوْ دَخَلُوهَا مَا خَرَجُوا مِنْهَا أَبَدًا، إِنَّمَا الطَّاعَةُ فِي الْمَعْرُوفِ".

437Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 681, *ḥadīth* 1840b.

438 — *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:10.

439 — Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 67.

440 — *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:18, 19.

441 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 48-49; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 10; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 74.

442 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 343.

443 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 32; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 365.

444 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 343; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 52-53.

445 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 343; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

446 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 39: "وخرجوا بتسعمائة وخمسين مقاتلا".

447 — Kister, "On Strangers and Allies in Mecca," p. 130: "The Zuhri troop obeyed al-Akhnas and returned to Mecca. The Qurashi force was thus reduced from 1000 to 700 and its striking force was seriously impaired."

448 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 41.

449 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 128, 144-145.

450 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 343; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

451 — Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion*, p. 74.

452 — Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion*, p. 75.

453 — Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion*, p. 75.

454 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 412.

455 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 54.

456 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:11:

456إِذْ يُغَشِّيكُمُ النُّعَاسَ أَمَنَةً مِّنْهُ وَيُنَزِّلُ عَلَيْكُم مِّن السَّمَاء مَاء لِّيُطَهِّرَكُم بِهِ وَيُذْهِبَ عَنكُمْ رِجْزَ الشَّيْطَانِ وَلِيَرْبِطَ عَلَى قُلُوبِكُمْ وَيُثَبِّتَ بِهِ الأَقْدَامَ

456 11. When He covered you with slumber, as a protection for Him, and sent down rain from the sky, so that he might purify you with it and take away the evil of Satan, and to strengthen your hearts and make firm your feet.

457 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 56. Emphasis added.

458 — Muhammad Nazeer Ka Ka Khel, "The Conceptual and Institutional Development of Shura in Early Islam," *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (Winter 1980), pp. 271-282.

459 — *Sūrah al-Shūrā* 42:38.

460 — *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, p. 325, *ḥadīth* 2318; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1406, *ḥadīth* 7169; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 928, *ḥadīth* 2601a; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 452, *ḥadīth* 3583; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, pp. 737-738, *ḥadīth* 5424, et. al.; Meir Jacob Kister, "Social and Religious Concepts of Authority in Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 18 (1994), pp. 84-127.

461 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

462 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

463 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

464 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 925.

465 — *Sūrah al-Najm* 53:3.

466 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 937; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 196.

467 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 1212, 1463, *aḥādīth* 6086, 7480.

468 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 856, *ḥadīth* 4325:

468حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ الشَّاعِرِ الأَعْمَى، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ لَمَّا حَاصَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم الطَّائِفَ فَلَمْ يَنَلْ مِنْهُمْ شَيْئًا قَالَ "إِنَّا قَافِلُونَ إِنْ شَاءَ

اللّهُ”. فَثَقُلَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَقَالُوا نَذْهَبُ وَلاَ نَفْتَحُهُ ـ وَقَالَ مَرَّةً نَقْفُلُ ـ فَقَالَ ”اغْدُوا عَلَى الْقِتَالِ”. فَغَدَوْا فَأَصَابَهُمْ جِرَاحٌ فَقَالَ ”إِنَّا قَافِلُونَ غَدًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ”. فَأَعْجَبَهُمْ فَضَحِكَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم، وَقَالَ سُفْيَانُ مَرَّةً فَتَبَسَّمَ. قَالَ قَالَ الْحُمَيْدِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ الْخَبَرَ كُلَّهُ.

469 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 635, *ḥadīth* 5128.

470 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1432, *ḥadīth* 7307.

471 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 56.

472 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 445.

473 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 208-2011.

474 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 445.

475 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

476 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 747-748; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 610; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 439.

477 — *Sūrah Al-Fatḥ* 48:1; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 441.

478 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 617.

479 — Cf. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 49.

480 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 58.

481 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 10.

482 — Ibn Khaldun, *Al-Muqaddimah* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Assriya, 2009), Vol. 1, p. 153: “وكان الحرب اول الإسلام كله زحفاً، وكان العرب إنما يعرفون الكر والفر”.

483 — Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 153.

484 — Watr, *Divine Commander Par Excellence*, p. 157.

485 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 286-293; ‘Alī ibn al-Athir, *Al-Kamal fi-al-Ta’rīkh* (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Assriya, 2013), Vol. 1, pp. 339-344.

486 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 117.

487 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 236.

488 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, p. 134.

489 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 31.

490 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 330, 331.

491 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, p. 31.

492 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 9.

493 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 60; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 346.

494 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 345.

495 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 55; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 346.

496 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 286.

497 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 291.

498 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 67; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 84.

499 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 67.

500 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 292.

501 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 64-65.

502 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 33.

503 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

504 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 66.

505 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 33.

506 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 68.

507 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 349.

508 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 69; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 12; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 349; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 371-372. Al-Wāqidī and Ibn Sa'd agree with each other but disagree with both Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī, who concur, about which duelists faced and killed each other.

509 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 350.

510 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 350.

511 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:9 (1,000 angels) and *Sūrah al-'Imrān* 3:123-124 (3,000 angels).

512 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 75-80; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 10.

513 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 350; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 372.

514 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 353; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 374.

515 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:9.

516 — Aslan, *No God but God*, p. 84.

517 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 8.

518 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 75.

519 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 12, 19.

520 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 17.

521 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 84.

522 — Bashumail, *The Great Battle of Badr*, pp. 112-113.

523 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 67.

524 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 358; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 112.

525 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 84.

526 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 80-81. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 351.

527 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 96, 98.

528 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 144. Cf. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 410, 412; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 376; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 13.

529 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 609-610, 795, 807-808, *aḥādīth* 3039, 3986, 4043, 4044; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 645-646, *ḥadīth* 1763.

530 — Nagel, *Muhammad’s Mission*, p. 101.

531 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 102.

532 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 86, 90; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 353.

533 — Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon Derived from the Best and Most Copious Eastern Sources* (London: Williams & Norgate 1863), Vol. 1, p. 1399.

534 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 376; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 98.

535 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 359.

536 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 375.

537 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 99.

538 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 376.

539 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 105.

540 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 99-101.

541 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:1.

542 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 63.

543 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 64.

544 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 17.

545 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

546 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 110.

547 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 362.

548 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 129.

549 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 16; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 101.

550 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 101; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 340-341, *ḥadīth* 2692:

550حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ النُّفَيْلِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ، عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ عَبَّادٍ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَبَّادِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ الزُّبَيْرِ عَنْ عَائِشَةَ، قَالَتْ لَمَّا بَعَثَ أَهْلُ مَكَّةَ فِي فِدَاءِ أَسْرَاهُمْ بَعَثَتْ زَيْنَبُ فِي فِدَاءِ أَبِي الْعَاصِ بِمَالٍ وَبَعَثَتْ فِيهِ بِقِلاَدَةٍ لَهَا كَانَتْ عِنْدَ خَدِيجَةَ أَدْخَلَتْهَا بِهَا عَلَى أَبِي الْعَاصِ. قَالَتْ فَلَمَّا رَآهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم رَقَّ لَهَا رِقَّةً شَدِيدَةً وَقَالَ "إِنْ رَأَيْتُمْ أَنْ تُطْلِقُوا لَهَا أَسِيرَهَا وَتَرُدُّوا عَلَيْهَا الَّذِي لَهَا". فَقَالُوا نَعَمْ . وَكَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم أَخَذَ عَلَيْهِ أَوْ وَعَدَهُ أَنْ يُخَلِّيَ سَبِيلَ زَيْنَبَ إِلَيْهِ وَبَعَثَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم زَيْدَ بْنَ حَارِثَةَ وَرَجُلاً مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ فَقَالَ "كُونَا بِبَطْنِ يَأْجِجَ حَتَّى تَمُرَّ بِكُمَا زَيْنَبُ فَتَصْحَبَاهَا حَتَّى تَأْتِيَا بِهَا".

551 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 270.

552 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 604, *ḥadīth* 3008:

552حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا ابْنُ عُيَيْنَةَ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، سَمِعَ جَابِرَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ـ رضى الله عنهما ـ قَالَ لَمَّا كَانَ يَوْمَ بَدْرٍ أُتِيَ بِأُسَارَى، وَأُتِيَ بِالْعَبَّاسِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عَلَيْهِ ثَوْبٌ، فَنَظَرَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم لَهُ قَمِيصًا فَوَجَدُوا قَمِيصَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أُبَىٍّ يَقْدُرُ عَلَيْهِ، فَكَسَاهُ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِيَّاهُ، فَلِذَلِكَ نَزَعَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَمِيصَهُ الَّذِي أَلْبَسَهُ. قَالَ ابْنُ عُيَيْنَةَ كَانَتْ لَهُ عِنْدَ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَدٌ فَأَحَبَّ أَنْ يُكَافِئَهُ.

553 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 362; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 119.

554 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 119.

555 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

556 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

557 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 847.

558 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 844.

559 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 110-111, 142, 201.

560 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 309.

561 — *Sūrah Muḥammad* 47:4:

561فَإِذا لَقِيتُمُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فَضَرْبَ الرِّقَابِ حَتَّى إِذَا أَثْخَنتُمُوهُمْ فَشُدُّوا الْوَثَاقَ فَإِمَّا مَنّاً بَعْدُ وَإِمَّا فِدَاء حَتَّى تَضَعَ الْحَرْبُ أَوْزَارَهَا ذَلِكَ وَلَوْ يَشَاءُ اللَّهُ لَانتَصَرَ مِنْهُمْ وَلَكِن لِّيَبْلُوَ بَعْضَكُم بِبَعْضٍ وَالَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَلَن يُضِلَّ أَعْمَالَهُمْ

561 4. So when you meet the disbelievers [in a battle], then strike at their necks until you have overcome them, then bind them firmly [when you have defeated them], then set them free as a favor or as ransom when the burden of war ends. Had Allah wanted, He could have extracted retribution Himself, but He wants to test some of you through others. And of those who are killed in the way of Allah, He will never let their deeds be forgotten.

562 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 106-107, 114.

563 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 148, 149.

564 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 181, 182; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, pp. 373-374.

565 — Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, pp. xxiii-xxiv.

566 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 413.

567 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 181; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

568 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 432.

569 — See p. X and citations 210 and 211 above.

570 — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:178:

570يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ كُتِبَ عَلَيْكُمُ الْقِصَاصُ فِي الْقَتْلَى الْحُرُّ بِالْحُرِّ وَالْعَبْدُ بِالْعَبْدِ وَالأُنثَى بِالأُنثَى فَمَنْ عُفِيَ لَهُ مِنْ أَخِيهِ شَيْءٌ فَاتِّبَاعٌ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَأَدَاء إِلَيْهِ بِإِحْسَانٍ ذَلِكَ تَخْفِيفٌ مِّن رَّبِّكُمْ وَرَحْمَةٌ فَمَنِ اعْتَدَى بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَلَهُ عَذَابٌ أَلِيمٌ

570 178. Oh you who believe, retaliation is prescribed for you in the matter of someone killed, the free for the free, the slave for the slave, the woman for the woman, yet whoever is granted pardon by his brother, and follows up with the appropriate payment and kindness,

that is a concession from your Lord, and a mercy. But whomever transgresses [again] after that, for him is a painful punishment.

571 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 200-201; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 446; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

572 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 199-200; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 28; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 381.

573 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 450; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

574 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 20; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 204; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 391.

575 — W. Montgomery Watt, “Al-‘Abbās b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, pp. 8-9.

576 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

577 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 207; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 28.

578 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 384.

579 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 211.

580 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 214.

581 — Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 263.

582 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 215; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 30; Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 5.

583 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 184. See also Vol. 1, p. 192.

584 — Haggai Mazuz, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 27-28; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 278 says he was a Muslim.

585 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 400; Mazuz, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*, p. 16.

586 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 391. Interestingly, Ma‘mar ibn Rāshid (*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48) reports that ‘Abdullah ibn Ubayy never rode forward into the valley, but “stayed behind with a third of the army.”

587 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 419.

588 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 22.

589 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 215 has different narrators listing other unit

leaders.

590 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 31; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 449; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 392, 393.

591 — Rodgers, *The Generalship of Muhammad*, pp. 120-121.

592 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 32.

593 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 221; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 392.

594 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 225, 244; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 450; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 31; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 391; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 391.

595 — Cf. Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 52.

596 — Gabriel, *Muhammad*, p. 117.

597 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 269; Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 755, note 600.

598 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 792, *ḥadīth* 3970:

598حَدَّثَنِي أَحْمَدُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ مَنْصُورٍ، حَدَّثَنَا إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ يُوسُفَ، عَنْ أَبِيهِ، عَنْ أَبِي إِسْحَاقَ، سَأَلَ رَجُلٌ الْبَرَاءَ وَأَنَا أَسْمَعُ، قَالَ أَشَهِدَ عَلِيٌّ بَدْرًا قَالَ بَارَزَ وَظَاهَرَ.

599 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 653; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 500; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 115; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 313.

600 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 5, p. 1689.

601 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 261-262.

602 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 291.

603 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 225; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 451; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 31; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 393.

604 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 221, 202.

605 — *Sūrah al-‘Imrān* 3:152:

605وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ حَتَّى إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ وَتَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي الأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُم مِّن بَعْدِ مَا أَرَاكُم مَّا تُحِبُّونَ مِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الدُّنْيَا وَمِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الآخِرَةَ ثُمَّ صَرَفَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ لِيَبْتَلِيَكُمْ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا عَنكُمْ وَاللّهُ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

605152. Allah certainly made good His promise to you when you were killing them with his permission, until you lost courage and fell into dispute concerning the instruction and

you disputed after you saw what you love. Among you are some who love the world and others who desire the afterlife. Then He diverted you from them so that He might test you, and, surely, He forgave you. And Allah is the possessor of bounty for the believers.

606 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 392.

607 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 229; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 457; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 31-32.

608 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 233; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 32.

609 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 277; *Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 32; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48.

610 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 300, 307-308; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 486-489; *Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 32, 33, 36.

611 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 468. Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 296-297. The phrase is rather beautiful, with a meaning more accurately expressed as: "Those who get water from the well have to take turns with the bucket".

612 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 468; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48.

613 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 297; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 468.

614 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 229.

615 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 229, 230, 231; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 31; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 392.

616 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48.

617 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 25.

618 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 230; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 393.

619 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 300, 307-308; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 486-489; *Ibn Sa'd, Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 32, 33, 36.

620 — *Sūrah al-'Imrān* 3:140-42, 152.

621 — *Sūrah al-'Imrān* 3:155-59.

622 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 476-486; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 320-329.

623 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 334-335.

624 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 472-473; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp.

334-340.

625 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 338.

626 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 473; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 338-339.

627 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 346-350, 354-363; Ibn Hishām (who gives lower casualty figures), *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 517-527, 527-529; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 39-42, 42-43; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 37-40.

628 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 387; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 46.

629 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 386.

630 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 387.

631 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 545; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 442; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 389; Cf. Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 50; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 48.

632 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 411.

633 — *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:51:

633أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى الَّذِينَ أُوتُواْ نَصِيباً مِّنَ الْكِتَابِ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِالْجِبْتِ وَالطَّاغُوتِ وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ هَؤُلاء أَهْدَى مِنَ الَّذِينَ آمَنُواْ سَبِيلاً

633Do you not see those who received a portion of the book? They believe in superstition and false gods and they say to those who disbelieve, "They are better guided than those who believe about the way."

634 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 531-533; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 39.

635 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 583-585; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 70; Ibn Shabba, *Kitāb Ta'rīkh Madīna al-Munawara*, p. 467; Harald Motzki, "The Murder of Ibn Abī l-Ḥuqayq: On the Origin and Reliability of Some Maghāzī-Reports", in Harald Motzki, ed., *The Biography of Muḥammad: The Issue of the Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 170-239.

636 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 810-811; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 566-568; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 70-71.

637 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 823; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 172-173; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 20-21.

638 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 823; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 174-

175; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 21.

639 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 439-444; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 184-193; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 24-26.

640 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā bi-Akhbār dār al-Muṣṭafā* (Beirut and London: Dār al-Gharb al-Islami / Mu’assasat al-Furqan li al-Turath, 2001), Vol. 3, p. 82; Badr ‘Abd al-Basit, *Al-Ta’rīkh al-Shamil li-l-Madīnah al-Munawarah* (Medina: No publisher named, 1993), p. 236.

641 — Meir Jacob Kister, “The Market of the Prophet,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, No. 8 (1965): pp. 272-276.

642 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, pp. 78, 82.

643 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 78.

644 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 65.

645 — *Sūrah al-Anbiyā’* 21:5:

645بَلْ قَالُواْ أَضْغَاثُ أَحْلاَمٍ بَلِ افْتَرَاهُ بَلْ هُوَ شَاعِرٌ فَلْيَأْتِنَا بِآيَةٍ كَمَا أُرْسِلَ الأَوَّلُونَ

646 — *Sūrah al-Tūr* 52:29-31:

646فَذَكِّرْ فَمَا أَنتَ بِنِعْمَتِ رَبِّكَ بِكَاهِنٍ وَلَا مَجْنُونٍ
646أَمْ يَقُولُونَ شَاعِرٌ نَّتَرَبَّصُ بِهِ رَيْبَ الْمَنُونِ
646قُلْ تَرَبَّصُوا فَإِنِّي مَعَكُم مِّنَ الْمُتَرَبِّصِينَ

647 — Gabriel, *Muhammad*, p. 104. See also p. 65: “He hated poets and singers”.

648 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 836-837, 1223, 1224, *aḥādīth* 4196, 6145, 6148; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 821, *aḥādīth* 2255a, b; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 621, *ḥadīth* 5009; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, Vol. 3 p. 325, *ḥadīth* 3758; *Sunan al-Nasā’i*, p. 192, *ḥadīth* 1358; *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, pp. 315-316, 317, 318-319, *aḥādīth* 858, 867, 869.

649 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 42.

650 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 72.

651 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 976-978; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 101-102, 1224-1225, *aḥādīth* 453, 6150, 6152; *Al-Adab Al-Mufrad*, p. 317, *ḥadīth* 863.

652 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 776-779.

653 — For a description of one such poetic duel — when a group of the Tamīm came to Muḥammad in Medina to recover captured family members in the year after the opening of Mecca — see al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 976-979. See also W. Arafat, “An Interpretation of the Different Accounts of the Visit of the Tamim Delegation to the Prophet in A.H. 9,” *Bulletin of*

the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, Vol. 18, No. 3 (1955), pp. 416-425.

654 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 803, 822, *aḥādīth* 4032, 4123, 4124.

655 — Hartwig Hirschfeld, *Diwan of Hassan ibn Thabit* E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. XIII (Leiden: Brill, 1910), p. 6. Cf. *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, pp. 395-396, 398, *aḥādīth* 2876, 2896, regarding the poetry of Ibn Rawahah.

656 — Hirschfeld, *Diwan of Hassan ibn Thabit*, pp. 1-6; W. 'Arafat, "Early Critics of the Authenticity of the Poetry of the 'Sīra'," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 21, No. 1/3 (1958), pp. 453-463; Meir Jacob Kister, "On a New Edition of the Dīwān of Ḥassān B. Thābit," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 39 (1976), pp. 265-286.

657 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 979. Abū 'Isa Muḥammad al-Tirmidhī, *Al-Shama'īl al-Muḥammadīyya* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islami, 2000), p. 146, *ḥadīth* 250.

658 — Hirschfeld, *Diwan of Hassan ibn Thabit*, pp. 1-8.

659 — For example, Gabriel, *Muhammad*, p. 28.

660 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 286ff.

661 — Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, ed., *Prominent Murder Victims of the Pre- and Early Islamic Periods Including the Names of Murdered Poets* Introduced, Edited, Translated from the Arabic, and Annotated by Geert Jan van Gelde (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

662 — Gabriel, *Muhammad*, pp. 65, 106.

663 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 756; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, p. 237.

664 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 415-421.

665 — See Rodinson, *Mohammed*, p. 157.

666 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 995.

667 — Montgomery W. Watt, "'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, p. 53.

668 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1057.

669 — Watt, "'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy b. Salūl," p. 53.

670 — Al-Ṭabarī alone relates a story of Muḥammad sending 'Amr ibn Umayya al-Ḍamrī to Mecca to kill Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, yet the story does not appear in Ibn Isḥāq, so Ibn Hishām

mentions it, *without any isnād*, only in a note. The story is not found in al-Wāqidī, Ibn Sa‘d, al-Balādhurī, etc. See Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, pp. 790-791, note 913.

671 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 667-668; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 793-794.

672 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 442-443; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 412. Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 219. Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 548-549) says that the Quraysh and associated tribal groups alone numbered ten thousand, with the Ghaṭafān adding thousands more. Islamic historians are so unsure of the numbers that some feel free to postulate improbable numbers of their own. Hamidullah (*Battlefields of the Prophet* Muhammad, p. 72), for example, says “they numbered twelve thousand maybe including the seven thousand of the northern confederates.”

673 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, p. 232.

674 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 389; Landau-Tasseron, “Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army,” p. 329.

675 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 389; Landau-Tasseron, “Features of the Pre-conquest Muslim Army,” p. 329.

676 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 50.

677 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

678 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 411; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 445; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

679 — *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* Translated into English by F.J. Hamilton, D.D. and E. W. Brooks, M.A. (London: Methuen, 1899), p. 225: “according to their usual practice they made a trench”. See also pp. 228, 324.

680 — *The Syriac Chronicle*, p. 223.

681 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 445.

682 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 411.

683 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 446.

684 — ‘Ali al-Husayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden: Brill, 1894), p. 305; Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, p. 252; Harry Munt, “The Construction of Medina’s Earliest City Walls: Defence and Symbol,” *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies Vol. 42, Papers from the Forty-fifth Meeting of the Seminar for Arabian Studies held at the British Museum, London, 28 to 30 July 2011* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2012), pp. 233-243.

685 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 454; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

686 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 546.

687 — *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:12, 12, 14, 18 et al.

688 — Hamidullah preposterously claims the trench was 3.5 miles (c. 6 km) long, 30 feet wide, and 15 feet deep. *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 68-69.

689 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 548.

690 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 465.

691 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 452.

692 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 451.

693 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 446; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 51; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 411.

694 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 445-446; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 221; Norman Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), pp. 14-16.

695 — Michael Lecker, “Sulaym,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 9, p. 817.

696 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 554; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 489; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 50, *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 415-416.

697 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 219.

698 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 444.

699 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 444, 480.

700 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 492-493; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 428-449.

701 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 454.

702 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 371. See also Vol. 2, pp. 454, 740.

703 — Lyall, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, pp. 11, 27, 163, 175, 210, 245, 255. Cf. Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 59.

704 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 457.

705 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 464, 465.

706 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 457.

707 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 550; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 413. Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 491; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 56; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 50; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 430.

708 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 495-496.

709 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 555; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 415.

710 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 460; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 51-52.

711 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 555; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 488-489.

712 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 555-556; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 487, 488; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 55.

713 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 475-476.

714 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 556; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 416.

715 — Hayward, *The Leadership of Muhammad*, p. 119.

716 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 477-478; Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 550) and Ibn Rāshid (*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 50) seem to suggest that the negotiation with 'Uyayna was undertaken by messages, rather than in person. Al-Wāqidī makes it clear that 'Uyayna came to the Prophet, and even offended Usayd ibn Ḥuḍayr by stretching out his legs in front of the prophet. See also al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, pp. 430, 431.

717 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 479-480.

718 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 478.

719 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 51.

720 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 480.

721 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 554; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 415.

722 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 555.

723 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 491-492.

724 — Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 587) writes that twelve died; Al-Wāqidī (*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 769) writes that eight died, four from the *Muhājirūn* and four from the *Anṣār*.

725 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 98-98; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 755-756.

726 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 53.

727 — Cf. Meraj Mohiuddin, *Revelation: The Story of Muhammad* (Scottsdale, AZ: Whiteboard Press, 2015), p. 302.

728 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 752-753.

729 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 420.

730 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 587.

731 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 564; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 69.

732 — Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, p. 235.

733 — Touraj Daryaee, *Sasanian Persia: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2009), p. 35; David S. Powers, *Muhammad is Not the Father of Any of Your Men: The Making of the Last Prophet* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2009), p. 86.

734 — See *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 293.

735 — John W. Jandora, *The March from Medina: A Revisionist Study of the Arab Conquests* (Clifton, N.J.: The Kingston Press, 1990), p. 38; Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 44.

736 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 450.

737 — El Gindi, *Poetry among the Arabs in the Jāhiliyah*, pp. 142, 185; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 801.

738 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 652-663; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 451, 452.

739 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 652; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 450.

740 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 760; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 98.

741 — Harry Turtledove, ed., *The Chronicle of Theophanes: An English Translation of Anni Mundi 6095–6305 (A.D. 602–813), with Introduction and Notes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982), p. 36.

742 — Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, pp. 72-75, 79; See also Powers, *Muhammad is Not the Father*, p. 86.

743 — Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 79.

744 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 100.

745 — Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar*, p. 386.

746 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 658; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 765.

747 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 658; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 765; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 98; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 452.

748 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 572.

749 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 573.

750 — Al-Wāqidī (*Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 574) says there were 1,600 pilgrims. Ibn Hishām (*Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 607) says there were either seven hundred or fourteen hundred. Al-Ṭabarī (*Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 428) quotes a range of narrators and their claimed numbers, including 700, 1,300, 1,400, 1,525 and 1,900.

751 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 663-664.

752 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 781; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 449; Kister, “On Strangers and Allies in Mecca,” p. 151.

753 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 663-664.

754 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 453.

755 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 784, 787; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 102.

756 — “The protection of Allah”; see Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 782.

757 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 783.

758 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 105.

759 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, p. 157.

760 — By far the best discussion of the reported contact between Muḥammad and Abū Sufyān is found in Meir Jacob Kister, “‘O God, Tighten Thy Grip on Muḍar ...’ Some Socio-Economic and Religious Aspects of an Early Ḥadīth,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 24 (1981), pp. 242-273.

761 — We find this request in *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 899, *ḥadīth* 2501, yet the chronology of events in this *ḥadīth* is confusing and apparently muddled.

762 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 667; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 791; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 454.

763 — Cf. Safwan ibn Umayya’s hostility to Abū Sufyan during discussions about the fate of Khaybar: Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 702.

764 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 783, 785.

765 — Arafat Madi Shoukri, *Refugee Status in Islam: Concepts of Protection in Islamic Tradition*

and International Law (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011), especially the chapters, “The Jiwār in the Jaȟiliyya” and “Jiwār in the Islamic tradition in the Meccan period”.

766 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 668; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 793-794.

767 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 668.

768 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 668.

769 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 795.

770 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 796.

771 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 668; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 454; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 51.

772 — Montgomery W. Watt, “Abū Sufyan b. Ḥarb b. Umayya,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1, p. 151.

773 — Ibrahim, *The Stated Motivations for the Early Islamic Expansion*, p. 98.

774 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 338-339.

775 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 672.

776 — The most fanciful story of al-‘Abbās’s role is found in Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 58-63.

777 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 670; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 801; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 102; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 455.

778 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 803-804.

779 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 456.

780 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 68. Cf. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 347; Michael Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym: A Contribution to the Study of Early Islam* The Max Schloessinger Memorial Series, Monographs IV (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, The Hebrew University, 1989), pp. 60, 138, 144.

781 — Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, p. 137.

782 — Michael Lecker, “Sulaym,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 9, pp. 817-818. Al-Ṭabarī says that the Sulaym were in fact brand-new Muslims (*Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 457), although he does not give any evidence for their prior conversion.

783 — Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, p. 117.

784 — It would seem that, among the earliest extant chronicles, Ibn Sa‘d (*Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-*

Kabīr, Vol. 1, p. 233-234) is alone in saying that the Sulaym converted *en masse* when they turned up at Qudayd.

785 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 813.

786 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 422.

787 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 537-538.

788 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 651.

789 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 676.

790 — Michael Lecker, "'Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 10, pp. 959-960.

791 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 932-933; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

792 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 724; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

793 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 937.

794 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 812-813.

795 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 675-6776.

796 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 823, 824.

797 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 732.

798 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 675.

799 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 814.

800 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 796.

801 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 802; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 456.

802 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 581.

803 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 462.

804 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 805.

805 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 100.

806 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 100.

807 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 816.

808 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 51.

809 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 675; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 457; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 654-655, *ḥadīth* 1780c.

810 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 674.

811 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, pp. 85-86.

812 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 895; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 118.

813 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 54.

814 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 675; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 457.

815 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 839; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 61; Meir Jacob Kister, “Khuzā‘a,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 5, p. 79.

816 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 825.

817 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 458.

818 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 676, says there were 12 or 13 enemies killed. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 825, Vol. 3, p. 875, gives the higher figure. So does al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 53.

819 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 826.

820 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 676; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 458.

821 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 835; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 107; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 57; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

822 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

823 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

824 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 55-57.

825 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 853; Gerald R. Hawting, “The Origin of Jedda and the Problem of al-Shu‘ayba,” *Arabica*, Tome XXXI, Fascicule 3 (Nov. 1984), pp. 318-326.

826 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 449, *aḥādīth* 3562, 3563. See Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 269.

827 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 854-855.

828 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 852-853.

829 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 946.

830 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 675.

831 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 680-681; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 844-845.

832 — Kister, “Khuzā‘a,” p. 79; Lecker, “‘Uyayna b. Ḥiṣn,” pp. 959-960.

833 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 679; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 459.

834 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 863-864.

835 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 462.

836 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 885-886.

837 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 696.

838 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 695; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 462.

839 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 463.

840 — Henri Lammens, “Mālik b. ‘Awf ibn Sa‘d b. Rabī‘a al-Nasrī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 6, pp. 265-266.

841 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 885.

842 — Lammens, “Mālik ibn ‘Awf,” p. 266.

843 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 695; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 886-887.

844 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 886, 915.

845 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 695; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 904; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 668-669, *ḥadīth* 1809a, b; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 344, *ḥadīth* 2718:

845حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا يَزِيدُ بْنُ هَارُونَ، أَخْبَرَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ، عَنْ ثَابِتٍ، عَنْ أَنَسٍ، أَنَّ أُمَّ سُلَيْمٍ، اتَّخَذَتْ يَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ خِنْجَرًا فَكَانَ مَعَهَا فَرَآهَا أَبُو طَلْحَةَ فَقَالَ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ هَذِهِ أُمُّ سُلَيْمٍ مَعَهَا خَنْجَرٌ فَقَالَ لَهَا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ”مَا هَذَا الْخَنْجَرُ“. قَالَتِ اتَّخَذْتُهُ إِنْ دَنَا مِنِّي أَحَدٌ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ بَقَرْتُ بِهِ بَطْنَهُ. فَجَعَلَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَضْحَكُ قَالَتْ يَا رَسُولَ اللَّهِ اقْتُلْ مَنْ بَعْدَنَا مِنَ الطُّلَقَاءِ انْهَزَمُوا بِكَ. فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ”يَا أُمَّ سُلَيْمٍ إِنَّ اللَّهَ قَدْ كَفَى وَأَحْسَنَ“. وَحَدَّثَنِيهِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ حَاتِمٍ، حَدَّثَنَا بَهْزٌ، حَدَّثَنَا حَمَّادُ بْنُ سَلَمَةَ، أَخْبَرَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ، عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ أَبِي طَلْحَةَ عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، فِي قِصَّةِ أُمِّ سُلَيْمٍ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِثْلَ حَدِيثِ ثَابِتٍ.

846 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 894-895.

847 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 895; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 699.

848 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 895.

849 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 758.

850 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 912.

851 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 605, *ḥadīth* 3014:

851Narrated ‘Abdullāh: During a campaign of Allah’s Messenger s a woman was found killed. Allah’s Messenger s disapproved the killing of women and children.

851حَدَّثَنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ يُونُسَ، أَخْبَرَنَا اللَّيْثُ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، أَنَّ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ أَخْبَرَهُ أَنَّ امْرَأَةً وُجِدَتْ فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِي النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم مَقْتُولَةً، فَأَنْكَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَتْلَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ.

851*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 605, *ḥadīth* 3015:

851Narrated Ibn ‘Umar: During a campaign of Allah’s Messenger s a woman was found killed. Allah’s Messenger s forbade the killing of women and children.

851حَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، قَالَ قُلْتُ لأَبِي أُسَامَةَ حَدَّثَكُمْ عُبَيْدُ اللَّهِ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ ـ رضى الله عنهما ـ قَالَ وُجِدَتِ امْرَأَةٌ مَقْتُولَةً فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم، فَنَهَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَنْ قَتْلِ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ.

852 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 637, *ḥadīth* 1744a:

852It is narrated on the authority of ‘Abdullāh that a woman was found killed in one of the battles fought by the Messenger of Allah s. He disapproved of the killing of women and children.

852حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ يَحْيَى، وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ رُمْحٍ، قَالاَ أَخْبَرَنَا اللَّيْثُ، وَحَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ، سَعِيدٍ حَدَّثَنَا لَيْثٌ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، أَنَّ امْرَأَةً، وُجِدَتْ، فِي بَعْضِ مَغَازِي رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم مَقْتُولَةً فَأَنْكَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم قَتْلَ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ.

852*Ṣaḥīḥ* Muslim, p. 638, *ḥadīth* 1744b:

852It is narrated by Ibn ‘Umar that a woman was found killed in one of these battles. The Messenger of Allah s therefore forbade the killing of women and children.

852حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بِشْرٍ، وَأَبُو أُسَامَةَ قَالاَ حَدَّثَنَا عُبَيْدُ، اللَّهِ بْنُ عُمَرَ عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، قَالَ وُجِدَتِ امْرَأَةٌ مَقْتُولَةً فِي بَعْضِ تِلْكَ الْمَغَازِي فَنَهَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم عَنْ قَتْلِ النِّسَاءِ وَالصِّبْيَانِ.

852*Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 337, *ḥadīth* 2669:

852دَّثَنَا أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ الطَّيَالِسِيُّ، حَدَّثَنَا عُمَرُ بْنُ الْمُرَقِّعِ بْنِ صَيْفِيِّ بْنِ رَبَاحٍ، حَدَّثَنِي أَبِي، عَنْ جَدِّهِ، رَبَاحِ بْنِ رَبِيعٍ قَالَ كُنَّا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فِي غَزْوَةٍ فَرَأَى النَّاسَ مُجْتَمِعِينَ عَلَى شَىْءٍ فَبَعَثَ رَجُلاً فَقَالَ "انْظُرْ عَلاَمَ اجْتَمَعَ هَؤُلاَءِ" فَجَاءَ فَقَالَ عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ قَتِيلٍ . فَقَالَ "مَا كَانَتْ هَذِهِ لِتُقَاتِلَ". قَالَ وَعَلَى الْمُقَدِّمَةِ خَالِدُ بْنُ الْوَلِيدِ فَبَعَثَ رَجُلاً فَقَالَ "قُلْ

لِخَالِدٍ لاَ يَقْتُلَنَّ امْرَأَةً وَلاَ عَسِيفًا”.

853 — *Sunan ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, p. 526, *ḥadīth* 2842:

853حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو بَكْرِ بْنُ أَبِي شَيْبَةَ، حَدَّثَنَا وَكِيعٌ، عَنْ سُفْيَانَ، عَنْ أَبِي الزِّنَادِ، عَنِ الْمُرَقَّعِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ صَيْفِيٍّ، عَنْ حَنْظَلَةَ الْكَاتِبِ، قَالَ غَزَوْنَا مَعَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَمَرَرْنَا عَلَى امْرَأَةٍ مَقْتُولَةٍ قَدِ اجْتَمَعَ عَلَيْهَا النَّاسُ فَأَفْرَجُوا لَهُ فَقَالَ (مَا كَانَتْ هَذِهِ تُقَاتِلُ فِيمَنْ يُقَاتِلُ). ثُمَّ قَالَ لِرَجُلٍ (انْطَلِقْ إِلَى خَالِدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ فَقُلْ لَهُ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَأْمُرُكَ يَقُولُ لاَ تَقْتُلَنَّ ذُرِّيَّةً وَلاَ عَسِيفًا).

854 — This is an eminently reasonable explanation given that the word can also mean “possessions”. Cf. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. 1, p. 964.

855 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 897.

856 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 700.

857 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 889-890.

858 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 922; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 709; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 466.

859 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 907; Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 270, say the Hawāzin lost 150. Ibn Sa‘d rather formulaically says that Muḥammad and his men “killed as many of them [the Hawāzin] as he had killed of the Quraysh on the Day of Badr [i.e., 70]”. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 117.

860 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 92.

861 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 698; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 115; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 463.

862 — The sources differ on whether Muḥammad advanced on Ḥunayn entirely by night, or also with daytime marching. Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 118 quotes one narrator who stated that they marched towards Ḥunayn on “an extremely hot day,” but that, after the sun had declined, they put on their armor and mounted their horses so that Muḥammad could announce the moment of departure. That the sun was about to set is clear from the description of the elongated shadow that Bilāl cast (“looking like a bird,” with long legs).

863 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 897.

864 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 134, *ḥadīth* 1057; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 119.

865 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 899; Ibn Hishām, Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya, p. 700.

866 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 846-847; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 899, 910; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 854, *aḥādīth* 4315, 4317. The number of people who stood firm and fought bravely with the Prophet without retreating differs greatly in the sources, with some saying 4, 10, 12, 80, 100 and even 300. Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 113.

867 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 699.

868 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 64.

869 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 700; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 67.

870 — See among others: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 579, 854, *aḥādīth* 2864, 4317; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 652, *ḥadīth* 1776c.

871 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 908; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 117.

872 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 915.

873 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 710.

874 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 916; for completely different descriptions of Abū 'Āmir's death, see Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 706 and Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 73.

875 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 695.

876 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 712.

877 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 712.

878 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 115.

879 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 905.

880 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 913.

881 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 918.

882 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 726; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 943, 944; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 116.

883 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 909.

884 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 609-610; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 466.

885 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 923.

886 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 923; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 466. Al-Wāqidī contradicts himself (p. 927) by providing a narrative in which Salmān al-Fārisī initiated the

creation of the mangonels, telling Muḥammad of their common usage in Persia. Muḥammad then ordered their creation. This dubious story doubtless originated in a desire to make Salmān the Muslims' military innovator.

887 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

888 — *Taif City Profile* (Riyadh: Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs, 2019), p. 16. Hamidullah (*The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 96) mistakenly claimed it was "about 3,000 ft. above sea-level."

889 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 924-925.

890 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722.

891 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722.

892 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 3, p. 867.

893 — Ibn Hishām says twenty days; Al-Wāqidī says it was fifteen, eighteen or nineteen days; Ibn Sa'd quotes a narrator attesting to forty days; al-Ṭabarī says both a fortnight and twenty days; al-Balādhurī says fifteen days: Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 927; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 121; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 466; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 74. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 351, *ḥadīth* 1059g also says the siege lasted forty days.

894 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 725; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 938; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

895 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

896 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 928; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 467.

897 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 927; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120.

898 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 468.

899 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 924, 970; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 74.

900 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 723.

901 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 932-933.

902 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 644.

903 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 758.

904 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 928-929.

905 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

906 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 99.

907 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 722.

908 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 724; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

909 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 936.

910 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 932.

911 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 723; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 936; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

912 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 937; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 467.

913 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 936.

914 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 124; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1463, *ḥadīth* 7480; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 653, *ḥadīth* 1778.

915 — *Al-Muṣannaf Ibn Abī Shaybah*, Vol. 11, p. 301, *ḥadīth* 38107; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 120; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1212, *ḥadīth* 6086:

915حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، عَنْ أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ عَمْرٍو، قَالَ لَمَّا كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِالطَّائِفِ قَالَ ”إِنَّا قَافِلُونَ غَدًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ“. فَقَالَ نَاسٌ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم لاَ نَبْرَحُ أَوْ نَفْتَحَهَا. فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم ”فَاغْدُوا عَلَى الْقِتَالِ“. قَالَ فَغَدَوْا فَقَاتَلُوهُمْ قِتَالاً شَدِيدًا وَكَثُرَ فِيهِمُ الْجِرَاحَاتُ فَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ”إِنَّا قَافِلُونَ غَدًا إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ“. قَالَ فَسَكَتُوا فَضَحِكَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم. قَالَ الْحُمَيْدِيُّ حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ بِالْخَبَرِ كُلِّهِ.

916 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 942. Ibn Hishām and al-Ṭabarī place this unpleasant scene days later, after the main distribution had already taken place. The order of these events is inconsequential. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 728; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 469.

917 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 943.

918 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 949; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 116.

919 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 800-801, 812.

920 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 116.

921 — 4,800 camels are one-fifth of 24,000 camels, which means that Muḥammad’s own fifth of that fifth (for his own discretionary spending) was 960 camels. According to the earliest extant *Sīrah* sources, he allocated between 1,750 and 2,000 camels to tribal dignitaries. Thus, he must have used the *Khums* in its wider sense.

922 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 858, *ḥadīth* 4334:

922حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، حَدَّثَنَا غُنْدَرٌ، حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ قَتَادَةَ، عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ جَمَعَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم نَاسًا مِنَ الأَنْصَارِ، فَقَالَ ”إِنَّ قُرَيْشًا حَدِيثُ عَهْدٍ بِجَاهِلِيَّةٍ وَمُصِيبَةٍ، وَإِنِّي أَرَدْتُ أَنْ أَجْبُرَهُمْ وَأَتَأَلَّفَهُمْ أَمَا تَرْضَوْنَ أَنْ يَرْجِعَ النَّاسُ بِالدُّنْيَا، وَتَرْجِعُونَ بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِلَى بُيُوتِكُمْ“. قَالُوا بَلَى. قَالَ ”لَوْ سَلَكَ النَّاسُ وَادِيًا وَسَلَكَتِ الأَنْصَارُ شِعْبًا لَسَلَكْتُ وَادِيَ الأَنْصَارِ أَوْ شِعْبَ الأَنْصَارِ“.

923 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 94.

924 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 728; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 945-946; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 469. The clearest list (which reconciles differences in the original sources) is found in Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 73-74:

924

□

Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb ‘Abd Shams 100

Mu‘āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān ‘Abd Shams 100

Yazīd ibn Abī Sufyān ‘Abd Shams 100

Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām Asad

100 (or 300) Al-Nuḍayr ibn Hārith ‘Abd al-Dār 100

Usayd ibn Hāritha Zuhra

100

Al-‘Alā ibn Jāriya Zuhra

100 (50) Makhrama ibn Nawfal Zuhra

50

Al-Ḥārith ibn Hishām Makhzūm

100

Sa‘īd ibn Yarbū‘

Makhzūm

50

Ṣafwān ibn Umayya Jumaḥ

100 (or more) ‘Uthmān (‘Umayr) ibn Wahb Jumaḥ

50

Qays ibn ‘Adi Sahm

50 (100) Suhayl ibn ‘Amr ‘Āmir

100

Ḥuwayṭib ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā

‘Āmir

100

Hishām ibn ‘Amr ‘Āmir

100

Al-Aqra‘ ibn Ḥābis Tamīm 100

‘Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn Ghaṭafān 100

Al-‘Abbas ibn Mirdās Sulaym 50 (100) Mālik ibn ‘Awf Hawāzin 100

925 — Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī, Vol. 2, p. 469.

926 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 946.

927 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 944-945.

928 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 862, *ḥadīth* 4351; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 353-354, *ḥadīth* 1064b.

929 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, pp. 349, 353, 354 and other pp.

930 — Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, p. 67.

931 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 7732; Al-Wāqidī’s narration is rather different, but the gist is the same: *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 949.

932 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 859, *aḥādīth* 4335, 4336.

933 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 728-729; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 946-947; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 352, *ḥadīth* 1060a.

934 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 733-734; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 956; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 470.

935 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 858, 859, *aḥādīth* 4333, 4337.

936 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 957.

937 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 851-852, *ḥadīth* 2362.

938 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 956-957.

939 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 957-958.

940 — Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 858, *ḥadīth* 4333.

941 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 958.

942 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 958.

943 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 726-727; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 952-953.

944 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 954 quotes one narration that the Banū Tamīm refused, but this contradicts what the other early sources say. See also Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 66.

945 — The sources are not clear whether Muḥammad or Mālik designed this anti-Thaqīf strategy of constant pressure at this first meeting, but it is impossible to conceive of the latter undertaking it without the Prophet's permission and illogical to think that he did so without having learned of the Prophet's intent.

946 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 728; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 955.

947 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 755-760; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 963-973; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, pp. 237-238; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 471-472.

948 — One cannot ignore Meir Jacob Kister's deeply convincing article, "Some Reports Concerning al-Ṭā'if," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 1 (1979), pp. 1-18.

949 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 969-970.

950 — Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 471.

951 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 990; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 125.

952 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 990.

953 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 740; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 473.

954 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 79.

955 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 436-437; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 635, *ḥadīth* 5136.

956 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1019.

957 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 131.

958 — Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar*, p. 370.

959 — Mohiuddin, *Revelation*, p. 319.

960 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 711.

961 — Jandora, *The March from Medina*, p. 40.

962 — Jandora, *The March from Medina*, p. 40.

963 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 105.

964 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 990; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 471.

965 Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 991. Emphasis added.

966 — Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 2.

967 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 378.

968 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:41. The words are literally "light or heavy" (خِفَافاً وَثِقَالاً).

969 — The rate of conversion increased greatly after the Treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya in March 628. See: Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 936. The conquest of Mecca and the Hawāzin in January and February 630 caused another massive spike in conversions.

970 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:42:

970لَوْ كَانَ عَرَضاً قَرِيباً وَسَفَراً قَاصِداً لاَّتَّبَعُوكَ وَلَـكِن بَعُدَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ الشُّقَّةُ وَسَيَحْلِفُونَ بِاللّهِ لَوِ اسْتَطَعْنَا لَخَرَجْنَا مَعَكُمْ يُهْلِكُونَ أَنفُسَهُمْ وَاللّهُ يَعْلَمُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَاذِبُونَ

970 41. If there had been immediate gain, and the journey was easy, they would certainly have followed you. Yet for them the distance was long. And they will swear by Allah: "If we were able, we would have gone out." They destroy themselves [that is, their souls] and Allah knows that they are certainly liars.

970 The accusative masculine indefinite noun 'araḍan (عَرَضًا), translated here as "gain," is ordinarily translated in other Qur'ānic passages (see 7:169 and 8:67) as "goods" or "commodities," making clear its connection to booty or other material goods.

971 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:53-54:

971قُلْ أَنفِقُواْ طَوْعاً أَوْ كَرْهاً لَّن يُتَقَبَّلَ مِنكُمْ إِنَّكُمْ كُنتُمْ قَوْماً فَاسِقِينَ
971وَمَا مَنَعَهُمْ أَن تُقْبَلَ مِنْهُمْ نَفَقَاتُهُمْ إِلاَّ أَنَّهُمْ كَفَرُواْ بِاللّهِ وَبِرَسُولِهِ وَلاَ يَأْتُونَ الصَّلاَةَ إِلاَّ وَهُمْ كُسَالَى وَلاَ يُنفِقُونَ إِلاَّ وَهُمْ كَارِهُونَ

971 53. Say, "Spend willingly or unwillingly". [The latter] will never be accepted from you. Indeed, for you are a people of defiant disobedience.

9715454. And nothing would prevent their offering being accepted except that they disbelieve in Allah and His Messenger, are too lazy to come to prayer, and they will not contribute without being unwilling.

972 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 991; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 471.

973 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1002.

974 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 991-994.

975 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 596, *ḥadīth* 1649b.

976 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 995; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 125.

977 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1037-1038; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 35, *ḥadīth* 27b.

978 — Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam mā Ista‘jam*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

979 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1006.

980 — Al-Bakrī, *Mu‘jam mā Ista‘jam*, Vol. 1, p. 44.

981 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1015; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 127. Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 748 and al-Ṭabarī, *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 475-476 say that Muhammad stayed only ten days.

982 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1015.

983 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1031-1032.

984 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 79.

985 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 76.

986 — Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn ibn-‘Abdullāh al-Rūmī al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1977), Vol. 2, pp. 118-119.

987 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 475; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

988 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1031-1032.

989 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1033.

990 — The treaty document drawn up by Muḥammad for the people of Maqnā, for example, is reproduced by Al-Balādhurī (*Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 80), yet places no religious obligations on the Jews.

991 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 403; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 47-48. Note the difference between their narratives and the non-event described by Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 545.

992 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1027; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 126. The word translated as horses is actually just “رأس” (“head”) and might mean sheep. But the footnoted commentary to this sentence in Al-Wāqidī says that here it means horses. This makes more sense in terms of what would ideally comprise a high-value ransom.

993 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1030.

994 — Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 248.

995 — Michael Lecker, “Ukaydir ibn ‘Abdul Malik al-Kindī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 10, p. 784.

996 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 748.

997 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 475; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 126.

998 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1030.

999 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 82.

1000 — Glubb, *The Life and Times of Muhammad*, p. 339; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, pp. 362-365.

1001 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 389, *ḥadīth* 3037:

1001حَدَّثَنَا الْعَبَّاسُ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْعَظِيمِ، حَدَّثَنَا سَهْلُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ أَبِي زَائِدَةَ، عَنْ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ، عَنْ عَاصِمِ بْنِ عُمَرَ، عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، وَعَنْ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ أَبِي سُلَيْمَانَ، أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَعَثَ خَالِدَ بْنَ الْوَلِيدِ إِلَى أُكَيْدِرِ دُومَةَ فَأَخِذَ فَأَتَوْهُ بِهِ فَحَقَنَ لَهُ دَمَهُ وَصَالَحَهُ عَلَى الْجِزْيَةِ.

1002 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1030; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 80.

1003 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 126.

1004 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 481.

1005 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 482.

1006 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 793-794. For a very negative view of Muḥammad’s meeting with the Banū Harith ibn Ka‘b, see Joseph S. Spoerl, “Tolerance and Coercion in the Sirah of Ibn Ishaq,” *The Levantine Review*, Vol. 4. No. 1 (Spring 2015), p. 57.

1007 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1080.

1008 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1080-1081.

1009 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 128.

1010 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1117.

1011 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1119; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 146.

1012 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1117-1118.

1013 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 147.

1014 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 518. The phrase “May you perish through wounds and plague” is a curious way of wishing martyrdom, and thus Paradise, for the warriors. It was clearly a reference to a saying by Muḥammad and is found in a *ḥadīth*: Sunan al-Nasā’i, p. 436, *ḥadīth* 3164.

1015 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 341 says that the body of ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr was thrown into the Jewish cemetery in Mecca (“فبلغ الحجاج موقف عبد الله فأرسل اليه وانزله عن جذعه فألقي في قبور اليهود”) after he was deposed as Caliph in 692 CE, which means that Jews had lived in Mecca, presumably until Muḥammad declared Mecca a city only for Islam.

1016 — Michael Lecker, “The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam,” in Phillip I. Lieberman, ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism Vol. 5: Jews in the Medieval Islamic World* (Cambridge University Press, 2021), pp. 290-291.

1017 — Gordon Darnell Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia: From Ancient Times to Their Eclipse under Islam* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 49-50.

1018 — Amir Ashur and Elizabeth Lambourn, “Yemen and India from the Rise of Islam to 1500,” *The Cambridge History of Judaism Vol. 5*, pp. 223-254; Robin, “Judaism in Pre-Islamic Arabia,” pp. 294-331.

1019 — Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia*, p. 49.

1020 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, pp. 299-308.

1021 — Cole, *Muhammad: Prophet of Peace*, p. 142.

1022 — Michael Lecker, “Zayd B. Thābit, ‘A Jew with Two Sidelocks’: Judaism and Literacy in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib),” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (October 1997), pp. 259-273, esp. 271.

1023 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, p. 299, Vol. 4, p. 312; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 557, *ḥadīth* 4449; The Bayt al-Midrās (بَيْتُ الْمِدْرَاسِ) in al-Quff is also mentioned in *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 638, 1365, 1437, *aḥādīth* 3167, 6944, 7348.

1023Lecker, “Zayd B. Thābit, ‘A Jew with Two Sidelocks’,” p. 264.

1024 — Detail Map of Settlements, “Al-Madinah al-Munawwarah at the End of the Prophetic Age” (Al-Madinah al-Munawwarah Research and Studies Centre, c. 2008). My thanks to Professor Michael Lecker for this fabulous map.

1025 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 17-18, 20; Lecker, "Muhammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach," p. 36.

1026 — Michael Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans: Studies on Early Islamic Medina* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2017), pp. 1-4.

1027 — Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Kubrā*, Vol. 1, p. 465.

1028 — Ella Landau-Tasseron, ed., *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Vol. 39: Biographies of the Prophet's Companions and Their Successors* (State University of New York Press, 1998), p. 169.

1029 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 101; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 8. Interestingly, both authors treat "Sāfila" and "Medina" as synonymous and al-'Āliya as being separate from Medina.

1030 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 360; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 114-115; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 13.

1031 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 474.

1032 — The various chapters of a meticulously researched and highly recommended new book analyze these and other hypotheses: Phillip I. Lieberman, ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism Vol. 5: Jews in the Medieval Islamic* World (Cambridge University Press, 2021). See also Robert Hoyland, "The Jews of the Hijaz in the Qur'ān and in their Inscriptions," in Gabriel Said Reynolds, ed. *New Perspectives on the Qur'an: The Qur'an in its Historical Context 2* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 91-116; Normal Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia and New York: The Jewish Publication Society, 1979); Barakat Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews: A Re-examination* (New Delhi et al: Vikas, 1979), pp. 19-25; Newby, *A History of the Jews in Arabia*, pp. 1-77; Moshe Gil, "The Origin of the Jews of Yathrib," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 4 (1984), pp. 203-224; and the various books and articles by Michael Lecker found here in the notes and bibliography.

1033 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 441.

1034 — For example, see al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, pp. 299-300; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 5, p. 84; Moshe Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), esp. pp. 3-19; Lecker, "The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam," pp. 259-260; Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 30.

1035 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 229.

1036 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 232.

1037 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 305.

1038 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 294; Lecker, “The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam,” p. 261.

1039 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 238-239.

1040 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 184. For a convincing analysis of this passage, see Michael Lecker, “Wāqidī’s Account on the Status of the Jews of Medina: A Study of a Combined Report,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 1 (January 1995), pp. 15-32. See also Israel Shrentzel, “Verses and Reality: What the Koran Really Says about Jews,” *Jewish Political Studies Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3/4 (2018), pp. 25-39, esp. p. 26.

1041 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 377, Vol. 2, p. 510.

1042 — ‘Ubayd Madanī, “‘Uṭūm al-Madīnat al-Munawwarah” *Majallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb bi-Jāmi’at al-Riyāḍ*, Vol.3 (1973/4), pp. 213-226.

1043 — Madanī, “‘Uṭūm al-Madīnat al-Munawwarah,” p. 218.

1044 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 477 (re. the Qurayẓa in particular); Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans*, pp. 12-18.

1045 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 563.

1046 — Harry Munt, *The Holy City of Medina: Sacred Space in Early Islamic Arabia* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 49.

1047 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 234. See Lecker’s chapter, “The Aws Allah Clans,” in *Muslims, Jews and Pagans*, pp. 19-49, esp. 19-26.

1048 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 302; Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 330.

1049 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 302, 310.

1050 — Although written over eighty years ago, Ilse Lichtenstadter’s article is an excellent introduction to this subject: “Some References to Jews in Pre-Islamic Arabic Literature,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 10 (1940), pp. 185-194.

1051 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 299.

1052 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

1053 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 75.

1054 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, p. 78; *II Chronicles* 6:32; *Daniel* 6:10.

1055 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, pp. 82-83.

1056 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukẖārī*, p. 933, *ḥadīth* 4680:

1056حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، حَدَّثَنَا غُنْدَرٌ، حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ أَبِي بِشْرٍ، عَنْ

سَعِيدِ بْنِ جُبَيْرٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، قَالَ قَدِمَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم الْمَدِينَةَ وَالْيَهُودُ تَصُومُ عَاشُورَاءَ فَقَالُوا هَذَا يَوْمٌ ظَهَرَ فِيهِ مُوسَى عَلَى فِرْعَوْنَ. فَقَالَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم لأَصْحَابِهِ "أَنْتُمْ أَحَقُّ بِمُوسَى مِنْهُمْ، فَصُومُوا".

1056 See also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 392, 684, 7788, 952, *aḥādīth* 2004, 3397, 3943, 4737; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 3779, *ḥadīth* 1130a; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, p. 389, *ḥadīth* 2067, et. al.

1057 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 372, *ḥadīth* 1893:

1057 حَدَّثَنَا قُتَيْبَةُ بْنُ سَعِيدٍ، حَدَّثَنَا اللَّيْثُ، عَنْ يَزِيدَ بْنِ أَبِي حَبِيبٍ، أَنَّ عِرَاكَ بْنَ مَالِكٍ، حَدَّثَهُ أَنَّ عُرْوَةَ أَخْبَرَهُ عَنْ عَائِشَةَ ـ رضى الله عنها ـ أَنَّ قُرَيْشًا، كَانَتْ تَصُومُ يَوْمَ عَاشُورَاءَ فِي الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ، ثُمَّ أَمَرَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بِصِيَامِهِ حَتَّى فُرِضَ رَمَضَانُ وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم "مَنْ شَاءَ فَلْيَصُمْهُ، وَمَنْ شَاءَ أَفْطَرَ".

1057 See also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 392, 764, 891, 892, *aḥādīth* 2002, 3831, 4501, 4504; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 378, *ḥadīth* 1126a, et al.

1058 — Mazuz, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*, p. 16.

1059 — *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 4, p. 496, *ḥadīth* 2733, Vol. 5, p. 151, *ḥadīth* 3144; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, pp. 568-569, *ḥadīth* 4078; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, p. 32, *ḥadīth* 58.

1060 — Mazuz, *The Religious and Spiritual Life of the Jews of Medina*, pp. 40-41.

1061 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 309-310; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 638, 1365, 1437, *aḥādīth* 3167, 6944, 7348; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 557, *ḥadīth* 4449.

1062 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 311; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 453, 563, *aḥādīth* 3591, 4494.

1063 — Muhammad Hamidullah, *The First Written Constitution in the World: An Important Document of the Time of the Holy Prophet* (1941. Lahore: Ashraf Press, 1975 edition); R. B. Serjeant, "Sunnah Jāmi'ah, Pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the Tahrīm of Yathrib: Analysis and Translation of the Documents comprised in the so-called 'Constitution of Medina'", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1978), pp. 1-42; Uri Rubin, "The 'Constitution of Medina': Some Notes," *Studia Islamica*, No. 62 (1985), pp. 5-23; Muhammad Tahir-ul-Qadri, *The Constitution of Medina (63 Constitutional Articles)* (London: Minhaj-ul-Quran Publications, 2012); Michael Lecker puts this hyperbolic phrase in speech marks. Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muhammad's First Legal Document* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 2004); Saïd Amir Arjomand, "The Constitution of Medina: A Sociolegal Interpretation of Muhammad's Acts of Foundation of the 'Umma'," *International Journal of*

Middle East Studies, Vol. 41, No. 4 (November 2009), pp. 555-575.

1064 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 270.

1065 — For a very interesting analysis which argues that the document is made of several treaties concluded at different times, see: Paul Lawrence Rose, "Muhammad, the Jews and the Constitution of Medina: Retrieving the Historical Kernel," *Der Islam*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (2009), pp. 1-29.

1066 — For example, see Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "A Framework for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam," *Journal of Law and Religion*, Vol. 15, No. 1/2 (2000/2001), pp. 260, 261: "The Medinah charter, which was contracted between the Prophet and the various tribes, is an example of the high level of tolerance and respect of diversity assumed by Islam. … The freedom of religion, and the right not to be guilty because of the deed of an ally, were among the protected rights."

1067 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 40; Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*, p. 37.

1068 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 272.

1069 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 278, 437, 549; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 176, 367, 369. For various other explicit references to these agreements in classical Islamic sources, see Michael Lecker, "Did Muhammad conclude Treaties with the Jewish Tribes Naḍīr, Qaynuqā', and Qurayẓa," in Uri Rubin and David Wasserstein, eds., *Israel Oriental Studies, Volume 17: Dhimmis and Others: Jews and Christians and the World of Classical Islam* (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 1997), pp. 29-36.

1070 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 278; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 454, 455, 456.

1071 — Lecker, "Did Muhammad conclude Treaties with the Jewish Tribes," p. 30.

1072 — See Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 455, 503.

1073 — Lecker, "Did Muhammad conclude Treaties with the Jewish Tribes," p. 30.

1074 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 823; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 172-173, 174-175; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 20-21.

1075 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 823.

1076 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 437; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 176; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 21-22. Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 19: "Ibn Isḥāq does not tell us why the Apostle assembled them to give such a warning, though he

goes on to say that the B. Qaynuqā‘ were the first of the Jews to break their agreement with the Apostle and go to war between Badr and Uhud. What was that agreement, when was it signed and how did the B. Qaynuqā‘ break it? There is no information.”

1077 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 437. Emphasis added.

1078 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 382.

1079 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 382.

1080 — Only in his notes — organized by Alfred Guillaume for his remarkable translation — rather than his chronicle, does Ibn Hishām mention this implausible story as an alternative report: Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 751, note 568. Ibn Hishām mentions a transmitter but no *isnād* whatsoever. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 371 copies al-Wāqidī’s story uncritically, as he routinely does.

1081 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 176-177.

1082 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 103.

1083 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 176. See also Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 437; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 371; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

1084 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 437.

1085 — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256.

1086 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 384, *ḥadīth* 3001.

1087 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 301.

1088 — ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jawzī, *Zād al-Masīr fi ‘Ilm al-Tafsīr* (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islami li’l-Taba‘a wa-l-Nashr, 1984), Vol. 1, p. 514; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 306.

1089 — *Sūrah al-‘Imrān* 3:181.

1090 — For an excellent treatment of this topic, see Gabriel Said Reynolds, “On the Qur’anic Accusation of Scriptural Falsification (taḥrīf) and Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 130, No. 2 (April-June 2010), pp. 189-202.

1091 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 277-315; for Jesus see p. 312.

1092 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 277-278, 287.

1093 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 285-287.

1094 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 383. Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 434, strangely believes that this revelation relates to the Banū Qurayẓa, not to the Banū Qaynuqā‘, which makes

little sense given that the Qurayẓa's treachery was real, not merely "feared".

1095 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

1096 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 180.

1097 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 178.

1098 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 177.

1099 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 177-178.

1100 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 177-178; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 372.

1101 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 177-178; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 437-438; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 22; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 383.

1102 — Lecker, "Muhammad at Medina: A Geographical Approach," pp. 29 30, 31, 41.

1103 — For example, see al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 22.

1104 — Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, pp. 68, 115, 152, Vol. 2, pp. 273-274, 291, Vol. 4, pp. 192, 313, et al.

1105 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 179; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 438.

1106 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 179-180.

1107 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 178-179.

1108 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 179.

1109 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 179; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 22; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 383.

1110 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, pp. 59-61.

1111 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 60.

1112 — Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 5; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Sahl Abū Bakr al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ fī al-Fiqh al-Ḥanafī* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'da, 1906), Vol. 10, p. 23:"أن رسول الله ﷺ استعان بيهود قينقاع على بني قريظة ولم يعطهم من الغنيمة شيئاً".

1113 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī*, Vol. 9, pp. 63-64, *ḥadīth* 17877; Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Ed. Rif'at Fawzī 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Al-Manṣūra: Dār al-Wafā', 2001), Vol. 5, p. 641, *ḥadīth* 2101: "بعد بدر بسنتين في غزاة خيبر ثم استعان رسول الله ﷺ بعدد من يهود بني قينقاع كانوا اشداء".

1114 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 41. *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:2 says:

1114هُوَ الَّذِي أَخْرَجَ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْكِتَابِ مِن دِيَارِهِمْ لِأَوَّلِ الْحَشْرِ مَا ظَنَنتُمْ أَن يَخْرُجُوا وَظَنُّوا أَنَّهُم مَّانِعَتُهُمْ حُصُونُهُم مِّنَ اللَّهِ فَأَتَاهُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَمْ يَحْتَسِبُوا وَقَذَفَ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرُّعْبَ يُخْرِبُونَ بُيُوتَهُم بِأَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَيْدِي الْمُؤْمِنِينَ فَاعْتَبِرُوا يَا أُولِي الْأَبْصَارِ

1114. He is the one who, in the first exile, expelled from their homes those who disbelieved from among the People of the Book. You did not think that they would leave, and they believed that their fortresses would protect them from Allah. But Allah attacked them where they did not expect, and struck terror into their hearts, and with their own hands they, and the believers with their hands, destroyed their houses. So, take note, you who are endowered with insight.

1114That this verse is about Banū al-Naḍīr's expulsion, see *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 993, *ḥadīth* 4882; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 1067-1068, *ḥadīth* 3031.

1115 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 41 (see also p. 43: "وكان جلاؤهم ذلك أول حشر الناس إلى الشام.").

1116 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 803, *ḥadīth* 4028:

1116حَدَّثَنَا إِسْحَاقُ بْنُ نَصْرٍ، حَدَّثَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ، عَنْ مُوسَى بْنِ عُقْبَةَ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ — رضى الله عنهما — قَالَ حَارَبَتِ النَّضِيرُ وَقُرَيْظَةُ، فَأَجْلَى بَنِي النَّضِيرِ، وَأَقَرَّ قُرَيْظَةَ وَمَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ، حَتَّى حَارَبَتْ قُرَيْظَةُ فَقَتَلَ رِجَالَهُمْ وَقَسَمَ نِسَاءَهُمْ وَأَوْلاَدَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلاَّ بَعْضَهُمْ لَحِقُوا بِالنَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَآمَنَهُمْ وَأَسْلَمُوا، وَأَجْلَى يَهُودَ الْمَدِينَةِ كُلَّهُمْ بَنِي قَيْنُقَاعَ وَهُمْ رَهْطُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سَلاَمٍ وَيَهُودَ بَنِي حَارِثَةَ، وَكُلَّ يَهُودِ الْمَدِينَةِ.

1116*Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 647, *ḥadīth* 1766a:

1116وَحَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ رَافِعٍ، وَإِسْحَاقُ بْنُ مَنْصُورٍ، قَالَ ابْنُ رَافِعٍ حَدَّثَنَا وَقَالَ، إِسْحَاقُ أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ، عَنْ مُوسَى بْنِ عُقْبَةَ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، أَنَّاالله عليه وسلم فَأَجْلَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم بَنِي النَّضِيرِ وَأَقَرَّ قُرَيْظَةَ وَمَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ حَتَّى حَارَبَتْ قُرَيْظَةُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَتَلَ رِجَالَهُمْ وَقَسَمَ نِسَاءَهُمْ وَأَوْلاَدَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلاَّ أَنَّ بَعْضَهُمْ لَحِقُوا بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَآمَنَهُمْ وَأَسْلَمُوا وَأَجْلَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَهُودَ الْمَدِينَةِ كُلَّهُمْ بَنِي قَيْنُقَاعَ — وَهُمْ قَوْمُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سَلاَمٍ — وَيَهُودَ بَنِي حَارِثَةَ وَكُلَّ يَهُودِيٍّ كَانَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ.

1117 — See also *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 385, *ḥadīth* 3005. Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 27. For the distribution of the Banū Naḍīr's possessions, see pp. 27-31, and for the Banū Qurayẓa's possessions, see pp. 32-41.

1118 — Lecker, “The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam,” p. 279.

1119 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, pp. 1009-1010, 1059.

1120 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, pp. 40, 41.

1121 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 346-350, 354-363; Ibn Hishām (who gives lower casualty figures), *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 517-527, 527-529; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 39-42, 42-43; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 37-40, 67.

1122 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 351; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 527-528.

1123 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 352; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 528.

1124 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 364.

1125 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 530; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 415.

1126 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 530; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 365; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 44; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 406-407.

1127 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 27.

1128 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 366; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 44. Yet Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 1, pp. 518, 520 gives two narratives, one saying that the angel Gabriel informed him and another saying that he heard it from a concerned informer.

1129 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 43; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 1, p. 520.

1130 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 104.

1131 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 42.

1132 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 435; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 181, 182; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23.

1133 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 366; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 407.

1134 — Lecker, “The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam,” p. 261.

1135 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 367.

1136 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 530.

1137 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 367-370.

1138 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 4, p. 413.

1139 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 371.

1140 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 372.

1141 — Madanī, "'Uṭūm al-Madīnat al-Munawwarah," p. 217: Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 368.

1142 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 43.

1143 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 43.

1144 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 372-373; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 22-23; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 406-407.

1145 — For example, Cole, *Muhammad: Prophet of Peace*, p. 140: "With the palm grove gone, the villagers had no means of support and lacked any incentive to attempt to wait out the siege."

1146 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 373; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 406-407; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 1, p. 518.

1147 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 104.

1148 — The form IV verb *akhzay* (أَخْزَيْ) of the triliteral root khā zāy yā (خ ز ي) appears 12 times in the Qur'ān, and always has the meaning of "to humiliate," "to reduce the reputation of," "to bring shame on," or "to disgrace". It is always about the reputation, not the physical condition, of something.

1149 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 374. Inexplicably, Nagel says the opposite of what is found in the sources: "In addition, Muhammad forced them to forgive all debts owed to them, and this meant he did not need to fear excessive displeasure from the Medinans." Nagel, *Muhammad's Mission*, p. 112.

1150 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 374; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 43.

1151 — *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:2.

1152 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 44.

1153 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 374, 375; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 407.

1154 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 407.

1155 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 532; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 377, 378; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 30.

1156 — *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:6:

1156وَمَا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ مِنْهُمْ فَمَا أَوْجَفْتُمْ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ خَيْلٍ وَلَا رِكَابٍ وَلَكِنَّ اللَّهَ يُسَلِّطُ رُسُلَهُ عَلَى مَن يَشَاءُ وَاللَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

1156. What Allah has bestowed upon His Messenger and taken from them [the Naḍīr], for this you made no ground shake with horses or camels, but Allah gives power to His Messengers over anything that He pleases, and Allah has power over everything.

1157 — *Sūrah al-Ḥashr* 59:7.

1158 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 586, *ḥadīth* 2904:

1158حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرٍو، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، عَنْ مَالِكِ بْنِ أَوْسِ بْنِ الْحَدَثَانِ، عَنْ عُمَرَ- رضى الله عنه- قَالَ كَانَتْ أَمْوَالُ بَنِي النَّضِيرِ مِمَّا أَفَاءَ اللَّهُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم مِمَّا لَمْ يُوجِفِ الْمُسْلِمُونَ عَلَيْهِ بِخَيْلٍ وَلاَ رِكَابٍ، فَكَانَتْ لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم خَاصَّةً، وَكَانَ يُنْفِقُ عَلَى أَهْلِهِ نَفَقَةَ سَنَتِهِ، ثُمَّ يَجْعَلُ مَا بَقِيَ فِي السِّلاَحِ وَالْكُرَاعِ، عُدَّةً فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ.

1158See also: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 994, *ḥadīth* 4885; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 642, *ḥadīth* 1757a; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 379, *ḥadīth* 2965; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 577, *ḥadīth* 4145; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 610, *ḥadīth* 1719.

1159 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 378; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 1, p. 107; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 28.

1160 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 30.

1161 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 44; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 43-44, 67; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 407-408.

1162 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 45; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 29: "حَرِيقٌ بالبُوَيْرَةِ مُسْتَطِيرُ".

1163 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. 379-380; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 27.

1164 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 379.

1165 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 379; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, pp. 407-408.

1166 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 30-31. Al-Balādhurī quotes and cites al-Wāqidī more than any other source. Most of these references come via Ibn Sa'd, al-Wāqidī's secretary and one of al-Balādhurī's teachers.

1167 — See, for example, Walid N. Arafat, "New Light on the Story of Banu Qurayza and the

Jews of Medina," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 108, No. 2 (April 1976), pp. 100-107. Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, pp. 70-94. Reza Aslan (Aslan, *No God but God*, p. 95) inexplicably says that the total number of Qurayẓa men killed was "only slightly more than one percent of Medina's Jewish population" and that Jews later lived in better conditions in Islamic territories than they did under Christian rule, presumably meaning that the killing of Qurayẓa men did not set a precedent. He then says that, in any event, "the Jewish clans of Medina were in no way a religiously observant group," (p. 99) implying that economics and power competitions caused the killing, rather than antisemitism. This obfuscation has nothing to do with the basic facts of the killing.

1168 — The best historiographical analysis of the killing of Qurayẓa men remains Meir Jacob Kister's "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa: A Re-Examination of a Tradition," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 8 (1986), pp. 61-96. See also W. Montgomery Watt, "The Condemnation of the Jews of Banu Qurayza: A Study of the Sources of the Sira," in W. Montgomery Watt, *Early Islam: Collected Articles* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 1-12.

1169 — American author and "Jihad Watch" blogger Robert Spencer writes, for example: "As his armies approached the fortifications of the Qurayzah, Muhammad addressed them in terms that have become familiar usage for Islamic jihadists when speaking of Jews today — language that also made its way into the Qur'an: "You brothers of monkeys, has God disgraced you and brought his vengeance upon you?" Spencer, *The Truth about Muhammad, Founder of the World's Most Intolerant Religion* (Washington, DC: Regnery Publishing, 2006), p. 129.

1170 — William Muir, *Mahomet and Islam: A Sketch of the Prophet's Life from Original Sources, and a Brief Outline of His Religion* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1895), pp. 149, 151.

1171 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

1172 — For the various meanings of وَلْث, see Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Vol. 2, p. 2965, and Kister, "The Massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa," pp. 82-83.

1173 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 1, p. 508. The famous Ottoman Shāfi'ī scholar Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān gives a more detailed telling of this story in his book, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyya wa-l-Athār al-Muḥammadiyya* (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Wahbiya, 1892), Vol. 2, p. 8.

1174 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 556-557; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 496-497; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 57; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 32; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 433; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 52; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 416.

1175 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 497-498.

1176 — "فكيف لي بحصنهم": Jalāl al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-Manthūr fi-l-Tafsīr bi-l-Ma'thur* (Tehran: al-Maktaba al-Islamiya, 1957), Vol. 3, p. 178.

1177 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 822, *ḥadīth* 4124.

1178 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 557.

1179 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 500. Emphasis added. Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 243.

1180 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 500.

1181 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 501.

1182 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 569; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 522, 529-530.

1183 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

1184 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 500; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 243.

1185 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558.

1186 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 501.

1187 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 556-569; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 57-60; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, pp. 50-54; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 32-33; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, pp. 416-420.

1188 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 53.

1189 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 501-502; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 417.

1190 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558.

1191 — The story is told in *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:65, *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:60 (apes *and* pigs), *Sūrah al-A'rāf* 7:166.

1192 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558. Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 458 has the Qurayẓa expressing fear at an earlier stage, during the Battle of the Trench, of being turned into apes *and pigs*, if they broke the Sabbath.

1193 — Uri Rubin, "Become You Apes, Repelled!" (Quran 7:166): The Transformation of the Israelites into Apes and its Biblical and Midrashic Background," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 78, No. 1 (February 2015), pp. 25-40.

1194 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 506.

1195 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 558; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 506.

1196 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 556: 25 nights; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 496: 15 days; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 59: 14 days; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 32: 15 days; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 416: "a month or 25 nights"; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 1, p. 93 (10, 15, 21, 25 nights).

1197 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 510.

1198 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 560; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 510.

1199 — Lecker, "The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam," p. 281.

1200 — See, for example, Nagel, *Muhammad's Mission*, p. 119.

1201 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī*, Vol. 9, p. 138, *ḥadīth* 18102; Abū 'Abd Allāh 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Alī Wadjīh al-Dīn al-Shaybānī al-Zabīdī al-Shāfi'ī (hereafter Ibn al-Dayba'), *Taysīr al-wuṣūl ila Jāmi' al-uṣūl min ḥadīth al-Rasūl* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Salafiya, 1927), Vol. 1, pp. 241-242.

1202 — *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 5, pp. 176-178, *ḥadīth* 3180.

1203 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 560; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 510; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 57; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 418. Abu-Nimer, "A Framework for Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam," p. 247 (referencing Khadduri) says that, "in the incident of the Aws and Khazraj tribes of Medina, the Prophet acted as mediator according to the Arab tradition and ended their enmity; in arbitration between the Prophet and Banu Qurayza, (a Jewish tribe) both agreed to submit their dispute to a person chosen by them."

1204 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 53.

1205 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 246.

1206 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 560.

1207 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 550; Al-Wāqidī narrates the mutual cursing and mocking at length: *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 458-459.

1208 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 512; Ibn Sa'd says the same thing, using the phrase "he hoped he would not die before satisfying his desire for revenge against the Qurayẓa: *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 59.

1209 — *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 546, *ḥadīth* 1582: "قَالَ اللَّهُمَّ لاَ تُخْرِجْ نَفْسِي حَتَّى تُقِرَّ عَيْنِي مِنْ بَنِي قُرَيْظَةَ".

1210 — Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 53.

1211 — For example, see Salahi, *Muhammad*, pp. 466, 467: "The Prophet then told them [the Aws] to ask the Qurayẓah to choose any person from the Aws to be their arbiter. Their choice was

the chief of the Aws tribe, Sa‘d ibn Mu‘ādh. … Sa‘d then asked the Qurayẓah whether they would accept his verdict, whatever it was. They said his verdict was acceptable.” Salahi cites no source. Hamidullah (*Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 106) similarly says that the Qurayẓa “surrendered on condition that an arbitrator of their own accord should decide their fate. The Prophet agreed. The arbitrator nominated by the Quraizites decreed …”. See also Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar*, p. 282.

1212 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 559, and p. 560.

1213 — Cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Durr al-Manthūr*, Vol. 3, p. 178; See Ibn Hishām’s notes in Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 765, note 709.

1214 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

1215 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 59: “ثمّ نزلوا على حكم رسول الله s”.

1216 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 3, pp. 320-324.

1217 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 509: “…ولمّا جهدهم الحصارُ ونزلوا على حكم رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلّم.”

1218 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 611, 822, 1245, *aḥādīth* 3043, 4121, 6262; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 647, 648, *aḥādīth* 1768a, 1769a; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 643, *ḥadīth* 5215; *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 546, *ḥadīth* 1582.

1219 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 79.

1220 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, pp. 79-80.

1221 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 512; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 58; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 417.

1222 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 512; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 247.

1223 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561.

1224 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 82.

1225 — Giovanna Calasso and Giuliano Lancioni, eds., *Dār al-Islām / Dār al-Ḥarb: Territories, People, Identities* Studies in Islamic Law and Society, Volume 40 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

1226 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-Wafā*, Vol. 3, p. 89; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561.

1227 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 84.

1228 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 513.

1229 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 513.

1230 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561.

1231 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 58; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 418.

1232 — For example, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 188, 502, 837, *aḥādīth* 947, 2541, 4200; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 635, *ḥadīth* 1730a; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 333, *ḥadīth* 2633; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, Vol. 3-4, p. 49, *ḥadīth* 3945; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Bulugh al-Maram min Adilat al-Ahkam* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyah, 1974), p. 4, *ḥadīth* 10.

1233 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 91.

1234 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 91.

1235 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 515.

1236 — In his notes, Ibn Hishām says that the twelve killed by the various members of the Aws were actually the last to die, and were killed on Muḥammad’s initiative and order after he had noticed that, while the Banū Khazraj were delighted by the killing of the Banū Qurayẓa men, the Aws were upset: Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 752, note 580.

1237 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 583.

1238 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 394.

1239 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 583-584; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 86; Ibn Shabba, *Kitāb Ta’rīkh Madīna al-Munawara*, p. 467.

1240 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 512: “قال سعد: فإني أحكمُ فيهم أن يُقتَل مَنْ جَرتْ عليه الموسَى وتُسْبَى النساءُ والذُرّيّة”; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 32.

1241 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 59: “كنتُ فيمن أُخذ يوم قريظة فكانوا يقتلون من أنبت ويتركون من لم يُنبت فكنتُ فيمن لم يُنبت” and “فحكمَ فيهم أن تُقتَل مقاتِلتُهم وتُسبى ذراريهم.”

1242 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561: “فإني أحكم فيهم أن تُقتل الرجال وتقسم الأموال وتُسبى الذراري والنساء”

1243 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 563: “قد أمر بقتل s وكان رسول الله كل من أنبت منهم” and “قد أمر أن يُقتل من بني قريظة كل s كان رسول الله من أنبت منهم”

1244 — For example, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 647, *ḥadīth* 1766a:

1244 وَحَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ رَافِعٍ، وَإِسْحَاقُ بْنُ مَنْصُورٍ، قَالَ ابْنُ رَافِعٍ حَدَّثَنَا وَقَالَ، إِسْحَاقُ أَخْبَرَنَا عَبْدُ الرَّزَّاقِ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ جُرَيْجٍ، عَنْ مُوسَى بْنِ عُقْبَةَ، عَنْ نَافِعٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عُمَرَ، أَنَّالله عليه وسلم فَأَجْلَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله

عليه وسلم بَنِي النَّضِيرِ وَأَقَرَّ قُرَيْظَةَ وَمَنَّ عَلَيْهِمْ حَتَّى حَارَبَتْ قُرَيْظَةُ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَقَتَلَ رِجَالَهُمْ وَقَسَمَ نِسَاءَهُمْ وَأَوْلاَدَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِلاَّ أَنَّ بَعْضَهُمْ لَحِقُوا بِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم فَآمَنَهُمْ وَأَسْلَمُوا وَأَجْلَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَهُودَ الْمَدِينَةِ كُلَّهُمْ بَنِي قَيْنُقَاعَ — وَهُمْ قَوْمُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ سَلاَمٍ — وَيَهُودَ بَنِي حَارِثَةَ وَكُلَّ يَهُودِيٍّ كَانَ بِالْمَدِينَةِ.

1245 — For example, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 822, *ḥadīth* 4121:

1245حَدَّثَنِي مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ بَشَّارٍ، حَدَّثَنَا غُنْدَرٌ، حَدَّثَنَا شُعْبَةُ، عَنْ سَعْدٍ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا أُمَامَةَ، قَالَ سَمِعْتُ أَبَا سَعِيدٍ الْخُدْرِيَّ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ يَقُولُ نَزَلَ أَهْلُ قُرَيْظَةَ عَلَى حُكْمِ سَعْدِ بْنِ مُعَاذٍ، فَأَرْسَلَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم إِلَى سَعْدٍ، فَأَتَى عَلَى حِمَارٍ، فَلَمَّا دَنَا مِنَ الْمَسْجِدِ قَالَ لِلأَنْصَارِ ”قُومُوا إِلَى سَيِّدِكُمْ ـ أَوْ ـ خَيْرِكُمْ“. فَقَالَ ”هَؤُلاَءِ نَزَلُوا عَلَى حُكْمِكَ“. فَقَالَ تَقْتُلُ مُقَاتِلَتَهُمْ وَتَسْبِي ذَرَارِيَّهُمْ. قَالَ ”قَضَيْتَ بِحُكْمِ اللَّهِ“. وَرُبَّمَا قَالَ ”بِحُكْمِ الْمَلِكِ“.

1245See also *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1245, *ḥadīth* 6262.

1246 — For example, *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 547, *ḥadīth* 1584:

1246حَدَّثَنَا هَنَّادٌ، حَدَّثَنَا وَكِيعٌ، عَنْ سُفْيَانَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ عُمَيْرٍ، عَنْ عَطِيَّةَ الْقُرَظِيِّ، قَالَ عُرِضْنَا عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَوْمَ قُرَيْظَةَ فَكَانَ مَنْ أَنْبَتَ قُتِلَ وَمَنْ لَمْ يُنْبِتْ خُلِّيَ سَبِيلُهُ فَكُنْتُ مِمَّنْ لَمْ يُنْبِتْ فَخُلِّيَ سَبِيلِي. قَالَ أَبُو عِيسَى هَذَا حَدِيثٌ حَسَنٌ صَحِيحٌ. وَالْعَمَلُ عَلَى هَذَا عِنْدَ بَعْضِ أَهْلِ الْعِلْمِ أَنَّهُمْ يَرَوْنَ الإِنْبَاتَ بُلُوغًا إِنْ لَمْ يُعْرَفِ احْتِلاَمُهُ وَلاَ سِنُّهُ وَهُوَ قَوْلُ أَحْمَدَ وَإِسْحَاقَ.

1247 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 561. Interestingly, in his notes, Ibn Hishām quotes a report that the total number was 400: Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 752.

1248 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 418.

1249 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 517-518.

1250 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

1251 — For a detailed list of Islamic scholars and their figures, see Kister, “The Massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa,” p. 89.

1252 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 803, *ḥadīth* 4028; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 647, *ḥadīth* 1766a; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 385, 551, *aḥādīth* 3005, 4404; *Sunan al-Nasā’i*, pp. 480, 683, *aḥādīth* 3459, 3460, 4984; *Sunan ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, p. 410, *ḥadīth* 2541; *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, pp. 546, 547, *aḥādīth* 1582, 1584.

1253 — *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 3, p. 546, *ḥadīth* 1582.

1254 — *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:25-27.

1255 — See Kister, “The Massacre of the Banū Qurayẓa,” pp. 66-74.

1256 — Michael Lecker, “Were there Female Relatives of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Besieged Qurayẓa?” *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 136, No. 2 (April-June 2016), p. 398.

1257 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 559.

1258 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 503.

1259 — Michael Lecker, “Were there Female Relatives of the Prophet Muḥammad among the Besieged Qurayẓa?” pp. 397-404.

1260 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 516-517.

1261 — Michael Lecker, “On Arabs of the Banū Kilāb Executed Together with the Jewish Banū Qurayẓa,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 19 (1995), pp. 68, 70.

1262 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 510, 521-522; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 57.

1263 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 523-524.

1264 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 524.

1265 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 520.

1266 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 521; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 419.

1267 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 523; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 58.

1268 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 521.

1269 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 88. He quotes al-Wāqidī, who mentions Jews from Khaybar and Taymā’ (but not Wādī al-Qurā).

1270 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 524.

1271 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 522-523.

1272 — Al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, Vol. 10, p. 23: “استعان بيهود s أن رسول الله قينقاع على بني قريظة ولم يعطهم من الغنيمة شيئاً”; Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 6.

1273 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 522; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 58; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 419.

1274 — *Ephesians* 6:5-8.

1275 — *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:27.

1276 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 234.

1277 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 634.

1278 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 750; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 9-10; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, pp. 335-336; Lecker, *Muslims, Jews and Pagans*, pp. 74-149.

1279 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 569.

1280 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 309.

1281 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 375.

1282 — Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi’ li-Aḥkām al-Qur’ān* (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 2006), Vol. 20, p. 341: وكان ممن سار منهم إلى خيبر أكابرهم، حُيي "بن أخطب، وسَلّام بن أبي الحُقيق، وكِنانة بن الربيع. فدانت لهم خَيبر.; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 531.

1283 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 583-584; Ibn Rāshid, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 86.

1284 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, pp. 810-811; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 566-568; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 70-71.

1285 — *Sūrah al-An‘ām* 6:92.

1286 — See Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 74.

1287 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 492.

1288 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 435.

1289 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 493.

1290 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 530.

1291 — Michael Lecker, “The Hudaybiyya-Treaty and the Expedition against Khaybar,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, Vol. 5 (1984), pp. 1-11; Muhammad Hamidullah, *Muslim Conduct of State: Being a Treatise of Muslim Public International Law, Consisting of the Laws of Peace, War and Neutrality, Together with Precedents from Orthodox Practice, and Preceded by a Historical and General Introduction* (Lahore, India: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1953), p. 265.

1292 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 22.

1293 — Al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ*, Vol. 10, p. 86. The commentary is on page 298:

1293وقد قبل رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم في الموادعة يوم الحديبية من الشرط ما هو أعظم من هذا. فان أهل مكة شرطوا عليه أن

يرد عليهم كل من أتى مسلما منهم. ووفى لهم بهذا الشرط، إلى أن انتسخ. لأنه كان فيه نظر للمسلمين لما كان بين أهل مكة وأهل خيبر من المواطأة على أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إذا توجه إلى أحد الفريقين أغار الفريق الآخر على المدينة. فوادع أهل مكة حتى يأمن من جانبهم إذا توجه إلى خيبر.

1294 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 36.

1295 — Benjamin Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria in the Arabian Peninsula* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2015), p. 83.

1296 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, pp. 36-37; L. Veccia Vaglieri, "Khaybar," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 4, p. 1138.

1297 — Mahmoud Ahmed Darwish, "Architectural heritage of the Arab castles and forts in Khyber (Saudi Arabia)" *International Journal of Innovation and Scientific Research*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (October 2016), p. 40.

1298 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 311; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 2, pp. 503-504; Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria*, p. 84; Darwish, "Architectural heritage of the Arab castles," pp. 39-49.

1299 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, pp. 640, 666-667.

1300 — Darwish, "Architectural heritage of the Arab castles," p. 39.

1301 — Darwish, "Architectural heritage of the Arab castles," p. 40.

1302 — Reilly, *Slavery, Agriculture, and Malaria*, p. 83.

1303 — Darwish, "Architectural heritage of the Arab castles," p. 40.

1304 — Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, no date), Vol. 18, p. 167.

1305 — Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā*, Vol. 2, p. 35.

1306 — Al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmi' li-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Vol. 9, p. 63; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 691.

1307 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 693.

1308 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, pp. 319-320; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 387, *ḥadīth* 3017 (with an imperfect *isnād*).

1309 — Lecker, "The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam," p. 282.

1310 — Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 218.

1311 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 634; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 689;

Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 82; Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 256; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 47.

1312 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 634.

1313 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 310; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 634.

1314 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 47; *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 10, pp. 226-227; *Tafsīr Ibn Kathīr*, Vol. 8, p. 72-73.

1315 — Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs fi Aḥwal Anfas Nafīs* (Cairo: Bimaṭba‘a al-Faqīr ‘Uthman ‘Abd al-Razāk, 1884), Vol. 2, p. 47.

1316 — See al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 61.

1317 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 634; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

1318 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 635.

1319 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bayhaqī*, Vol. 9, pp. 63-64, *ḥadīth* 17877; Al-Shāfi‘ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Vol. 5, p. 641, *ḥadīth* 2101: “ثم استعان رسول الله ﷺ بعد بدر بسنتين في غزاة خيبر بعدد من يهود بني قينقاع كانوا اشداء.” Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 684 says that, according to some narrators, the Jews from Medina who supported the siege received booty, but according to other narrators, they did not.

1320 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 620; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 638; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 85; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 836, 1258, *aḥādīth* 4196, 6331.

1321 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 637.

1322 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, p. 642; Al-Maqrīzī (*Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 310) uncritically copies al-Wāqidī’s narrative almost verbatim, and thus repeats the claim of ten thousand well prepared warriors assembling and lining up for battle every day before dawn.

1323 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 1, p. 391.

1324 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 621; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 81, 83.

1325 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 642; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 311.

1326 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 297.

1327 — For a very negative view of Muḥammad’s letter to the Jews of Khaybar, see Spoerl, “Tolerance and Coercion in the Sirah of Ibn Ishaq,” pp. 49-50.

1328 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghazi*, Vol. 2, pp. 640-641, 642; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 310 (saying the offer was for half the dates for a year).

1329 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 311.

1330 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 621; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 440.

1331 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 643; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 50.

1332 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 311, copying al-Wāqidī’s assertions almost identically, does repeat the story of the destruction of date palms, as does al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

1333 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 644-645.

1334 — Hamidullah, *Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 114.

1335 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 311.

1336 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 836, *ḥadīth* 4196.

1337 — Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

1338 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

1339 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 647-649.

1340 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 645, 646, 653; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 313.

1341 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 648.

1342 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 648; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 312.

1343 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 666-667, 676.

1344 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 648; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 312.

1345 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 667-668.

1346 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 653; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā‘ al-Asmā‘*, p. 313.

1347 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 52.

1348 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 660.

1349 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 625.

1350 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 622.

1351 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 660-661; Ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 86; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta’rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 52.

1352 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 623; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 659; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 441; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 316.

1353 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 663.

1354 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 668.

1355 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 663.

1356 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 34; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 47; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 2, p. 504.

1357 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 670-671.

1358 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 700; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 82.

1359 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 630; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 700; Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, p. 82.

1360 — Ahmad, *Muhammad and the Jews*, p. 116.

1361 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 680-681; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 323; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 60.

1362 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

1363 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 671.

1364 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 673.

1365 — For example, Ibn Shabba, *Kitāb Ta'rīkh Madīna al-Munawara*, p. 466; Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwa wa-Ma'rifat Akhwāl Ṣāḥib al-Sharī'a*, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ṭī Qal'ajī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyya, 1985), Vol. 4, p. 233.

1366 — Michael Lecker, "Wāqidī (d. 822) vs. Zuhrī (d. 742): The Fate of the Jewish Banū Abī l-Ḥuqayq," in C. J. Robin, ed., *Le judaïsme de l'Arabie antique: Actes du Colloque de Jérusalem (février 2006)* (Paris: Brepols, 2015), pp. 495-509.

1367 — A few of the popular accounts of Muḥammad's life and warfare that omit the story of Kināna being tortured include: Salahi, *Muhammad* (which says on p. 547 only that "Kinānah was killed in Khaybar, towards the end of the battle."); Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*; Al-Mubarakpuri, *The Sealed Nectar* (which says on p. 331 that Kināna was executed "in recompence for breaching the covenant," but does not mention his torture); Al-Mubarakpuri, *When the Moon Split* (with the same argument on p. 301); Lings, *Muhammad* (p. 267: "within less than a day the treasure was discovered, and Kinānah was put to death together with a cousin of his who was found to be privy to the concealment."); Cole, *Muhammad: Prophet of Peace* (on p. 199, Cole

has an unattractive way of avoiding the subject altogether: The Qur'ān "details no massacre of prisoners of war at Khaybar and indeed strictly forbids that sort of treatment of the captured, identifying it with the tyranny of Pharaoh"); Mohiuddin, *Revelation* (simply says on p. 290 that, "when his treasure is discovered, the Jewish leader is discovered and his family is taken captive."); Reşit Haylamaz, *Prophet Muhammad: The Sultan of Hearts* (Clifton, NJ: Tughra Books, 2013), Vol. 2, p. 368 says that Kināna actually preferred to be killed rather than to live without his wealth, and was duly executed. The torture is unmentioned. Surprisingly, for a scholar known for a decidedly apologetic approach, Hamidullah (*Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, p. 114) admits that the torture took place. Yet he minimizes it with the diminutive "little": "the Prophet wanted to know what else these persons still had secretly in their possession, and further sums were thus recovered from them after a little torture."

1368 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 623; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 673; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 442; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 35 (mixing up the name but mentioning the torture: "سعية الى الزبير فمسَّه بعذاب s فدفع رسول الله"); Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 52; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 320.

1369 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

1370 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 621, 626 (Kināna's brother is not mentioned here); Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 673. Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 35.

1371 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

1372 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 107.

1373 — Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Tabaqāt al-Kabīr*, Vol. 2, pp. 84 (no mention of their torture or execution; only the enslavement of their families), 86 (both beheaded).

1374 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 385-386, *ḥadīth* 3006.

1375 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1336, *ḥadīth* 6802.

1375حَدَّثَنَا عَلِيُّ بْنُ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ، حَدَّثَنَا الْوَلِيدُ بْنُ مُسْلِمٍ، حَدَّثَنَا الأَوْزَاعِيُّ، حَدَّثَنِي يَحْيَى بْنُ أَبِي كَثِيرٍ، قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبُو قِلاَبَةَ الْجَرْمِيُّ، عَنْ أَنَسٍ ـ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ قَدِمَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم نَفَرٌ مِنْ عُكْلٍ، فَأَسْلَمُوا فَاجْتَوَوُا الْمَدِينَةَ، فَأَمَرَهُمْ أَنْ يَأْتُوا إِبِلَ الصَّدَقَةِ، فَيَشْرَبُوا مِنْ أَبْوَالِهَا وَأَلْبَانِهَا، فَفَعَلُوا فَصَحُّوا، فَارْتَدُّوا وَقَتَلُوا رُعَاتَهَا وَاسْتَاقُوا، فَبَعَثَ فِي آثَارِهِمْ فَأُتِيَ بِهِمْ، فَقَطَعَ أَيْدِيَهُمْ وَأَرْجُلَهُمْ وَسَمَلَ أَعْيُنَهُمْ، ثُمَّ لَمْ يَحْسِمْهُمْ حَتَّى مَاتُوا.

1375See also:

1375 *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 58-58, 301, 835, 1151, 1157, 1336-1337, 1354-1355, *aḥādīth* 233, 1501, 4192, 5685, 5686, 5727, 6802, 6803, 6804, 6805, 6899; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 609, *aḥādīth* 1671a, 1671b, 1671c; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 546, 547, *aḥādīth* 4364, 4369; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, pp. 40, 562, 563, 564, *aḥādīth* 306, 307, 4029, 4030, 4032, 4033, 4034, 4035, 4036, 4038, 4040, 4041, 4042, 4043, 4044, 4045, 4048; *Sunan ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, pp. 423, 424, *ḥadīth* 2578, 2579; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 1, pp. 166-167, *aḥādīth* 72, 73.

1376 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 570.

1377 — *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 1, p. 166. See Ibn Hishām's notes in Guillaume, *The Life of Muhammad*, p. 678.

1378 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 569-570.

1379 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 674-675; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 51.

1380 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 671.

1381 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 664; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 318.

1382 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 680.

1383 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 664; Al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr*, p. 6.

1384 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 621; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 689.

1385 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 693.

1386 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 40; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 693-964; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 329.

1387 — Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 48.

1388 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 621; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 440.

1389 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 640, 650-652.

1390 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 652.

1391 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 676.

1392 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 687, 772; Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 324.

1393 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, pp. vii, 4, 5, Vol. 2, pp. 562-563.

1394 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 706; Al-Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 264 calls Muḥayyiṣa's mission to Fadak a *sarīyyā* (raid or campaign).

1395 — Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 41.

1396 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 444.

1397 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 636.

1398 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 707; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 64.

1399 — Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 331.

1400 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 634.

1401 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 636.

1402 — S*unan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 379, *ḥadīth* 2966; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 577, *ḥadīth* 4148.

1403 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 378; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 379, *ḥadīth* 2967; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 577, *ḥadīth* 4148; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, Vol. 3, p. 857.

1404 — Abdallah al-Nasif, "Al-'Ula (Saudi Arabia): A Report on a Historical and Archaeological Survey," *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1981), pp. 30-32; Michael Lecker, "Wādī 'l-Ḳurā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 11, pp. 18-19.

1405 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 627; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 711-712; *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 443; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 65; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 332. The sources are unclear, and apparently do not agree, whether this happened on the way from Khaybar to Wādī al-Qurā or on the way from there back to Medina. For our purposes, it makes no difference.

1406 — Lecker, "Wādī 'l-Ḳurā," p. 19.

1407 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 627; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 47; Al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā'*, p. 332.

1408 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 711.

1409 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, pp. 710-711; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 47.

1410 — Lecker, "The Jews of Northern Arabia in Early Islam," p. 288; Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 711.

1411 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 711; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, p. 48; Al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

1412 — Al-Bakrī, *Mu'jam mā Ista'jam*, Vol. 1, p. 29.

1413 — Hayward, *"War is Deceit": An Analysis of a Contentious ḥadīth on the Morality of Military Deception*.

1414 — *Sūrah al-An‘ām* 6:50; *Sūrah al-A‘rāf* 7:203; *Sūrah Yūnus* 10:15; *Sūrah al-Aḥqāf* 46:9.

1415 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 249.

1416 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 815. Emphasis added.

1417 — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:256.

1418 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 593-594, *ḥadīth* 2946:

1418حَدَّثَنَا أَبُو الْيَمَانِ، أَخْبَرَنَا شُعَيْبٌ، عَنِ الزُّهْرِيِّ، حَدَّثَنَا سَعِيدُ بْنُ الْمُسَيَّبِ، أَنَّ أَبَا هُرَيْرَةَ رضى الله عنه ـ قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ‘‘أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُقَاتِلَ النَّاسَ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ. فَمَنْ قَالَ لاَ إِلَهَ إِلاَّ اللَّهُ، فَقَدْ عَصَمَ مِنِّي نَفْسَهُ وَمَالَهُ، إِلاَّ بِحَقِّهِ، وَحِسَابُهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ’’. رَوَاهُ عُمَرُ وَابْنُ عُمَرَ عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صلى الله عليه وسلم.

1418See also: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 16, 91, 279, 1360, 1427, *aḥādīth* 25, 392, 1399, 1400, 6924, 6925, 7284, 7285; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 33, 34, 868, *aḥādīth* 20, 21a, 21b, 21c, 22, 2405; *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 201, 334, *aḥādīth* 1556, 2641, 2642; *Sunan al-Nasā’i*, pp. 424, 425, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 686, *aḥādīth* 2443, 3090, 3091, 3092, 3093, 3094, 3095, 3966, 3967, 3969, 3970, 3971, 3972, 3973, 3974, 3975, 3976, 3977, 3979, 3980, 3982, 3983, 5003; *Sunan ibn Mājah*, Vol. 1, p. 62, a*ḥādīth* 71, 72, Vol. 3, p. 387, *aḥādīth* 3927, 3928; *Jami‘ al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 4, pp. 428, 429, 430, *aḥādīth* 2606, 2607, 2608, Vol. 5, p. 271, *ḥadīth* 3341.

1419 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 334, *ḥadīth* 2642:

1419حَدَّثَنَا سُلَيْمَانُ بْنُ دَاوُدَ الْمَهْرِيُّ، أَخْبَرَنَا ابْنُ وَهْبٍ، أَخْبَرَنِي يَحْيَى بْنُ أَيُّوبَ، عَنْ حُمَيْدٍ الطَّوِيلِ، عَنْ أَنَسِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، قَالَ قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صلى الله عليه وسلم ’’أُمِرْتُ أَنْ أُقَاتِلَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ’’. بِمَعْنَاهُ

1420 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 176. See also Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīya*, p. 437; Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Vol. 1, p. 371; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 383.

1421 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 771.

1422 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 791.

1423 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 297.

1424 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 706; Al-Mas‘ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-l-Ishrāf*, p. 264 calls Muḥayyiṣa’s mission to Fadak a sarīyyā (raid or campaign).

1425 — *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 493.

1426 — William Muir, *The Life of Mahomet from Original Sources* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1877), p. 474.

1427 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 789; *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 483.

1428 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:3.

1429 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:1 and 4.

1430 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:6.

1431 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 734-735.

1432 — Fatoohi, *Abrogation in the Qur'an*.

1433 — Hashmi, *Islamic Political Ethics*, p. 196.

1434 — *Sūrah al-Baqarah* 2:106:

1434مَا نَنسَخْ مِنْ آيَةٍ أَوْ نُنسِهَا نَأْتِ بِخَيْرٍ مِّنْهَا أَوْ مِثْلِهَا أَلَمْ تَعْلَمْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ

1434106. What We abrogate of a verse, or cause to be forgotten, We bring forth something better than it or similar to it. Do you not know that Allah has power over all things?

1434See also *Sūrah al-Ra'd* 13:39; *Sūrah al-Naḥl* 16:101; *Sūrah al-Isrā'* 17:86.

1435 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 2, p. 481.

1436 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1079.

1437 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 3, p. 1080.

1438 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 672.

1439 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, pp. 771-772.

1440 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 771.

1441 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 775.

1442 — *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:73:

1442يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ جَاهِدِ الْكُفَّارَ وَالْمُنَافِقِينَ وَاغْلُظْ عَلَيْهِمْ وَمَأْوَاهُمْ جَهَنَّمُ وَبِئْسَ الْمَصِيرُ

144273. O Prophet, strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be resolute against them. Their abode is Hell, an evil refuge indeed.

1443 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:60. Cf. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 599, *ḥadīth* 2977; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 965, *ḥadīth* 2724; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 58, *ḥadīth* 432.

1444 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:57. "فِي الْحَرْبِ" is literally "in the war".

1445 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 1376-1377, *ḥadīth* 6998.

1446 — *Sūrah al-Anfāl* 8:30.

1447 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, pp. 194-195, *ḥadīth* 1510:

1447حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ كَثِيرٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا سُفْيَانُ، عَنْ عَمْرِو بْنِ مُرَّةَ، عَنْ عَبْدِ اللّهِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ، عَنْ طُلَيْقِ بْنِ قَيْسٍ، عَنِ ابْنِ عَبَّاسٍ، قَالَ كَانَ النَّبِيُّ صلى الله عليه وسلم يَدْعُو"رَبِّ أَعِنِّي وَلاَ تُعِنْ عَلَيَّ وَانْصُرْنِي وَلاَ تَنْصُرْ عَلَيَّ وَامْكُرْ لِي وَلاَ تَمْكُرْ عَلَيَّ وَاهْدِنِي وَيَسِّرْ هُدَايَ إِلَيَّ وَانْصُرْنِي عَلَى مَنْ بَغَى عَلَيَّ اللَّهُمَّ اجْعَلْنِي لَكَ شَاكِرًا لَكَ ذَاكِرًا لَكَ رَاهِبًا لَكَ مِطْوَاعًا إِلَيْكَ مُخْبِتًا أَوْ مُنِيبًا رَبِّ تَقَبَّلْ تَوْبَتِي وَاغْسِلْ حَوْبَتِي وَأَجِبْ دَعْوَتِي وَثَبِّتْ حُجَّتِي وَاهْدِ قَلْبِي وَسَدِّدْ لِسَانِي وَاسْلُلْ سَخِيمَةَ قَلْبِي".

1448 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 615, *ḥadīth* 3060.

1449 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 874-877, *ḥadīth* 4418; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 980-984, *ḥadīth* 2769d.

1450 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 300, *ḥadīth* 1500.

1451 — *Sūrah al-Mā'idah 5:54* and *Sūrah al-Fatḥ* 48:29.

1452 — *Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, Vol. 1, p. 370.

1453 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 176. Vol. 2, p. 642. Here الخميس means الجيش. See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 601, 729, *aḥādīth* 2991 and 3647.

1454 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 965, ḥadīth 2724.

1455 — *Sūrah al-Nisā'* 4:95.

1456 — *Sūrah Muḥammad* 47:20; *Sūrah al-Tawba* 9:42, 81, 86, 87 and 93; *Sūrah al-Aḥzāb* 33:18ff.

1457 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 1392, *ḥadīth* 7085.

1458 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, pp. 875-877, *ḥadīth* 4418; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, pp. 980-984, *ḥadīth* 2769d.

1459 — *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 518, *ḥadīth* 4115.

1460 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

1461 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 984.

1462 — Ibn Hishām, *Al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyah*, p. 985.

1463 — *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, p. 635, *ḥadīth* 1731a, b; *Sunan ibn Mājah*, Vol. 2, pp. 532-533, *ḥadīth* 2858; *Jami' al-Tirmidhī*, Vol. 2, p. 279, *ḥadīth* 1408.

1464 — *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, p. 846, *ḥadīth* 4261.

1465 — *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*, p. 321, *ḥadīth* 2515; *Sunan al-Nasā'i*, p. 585, *ḥadīth* 4200.

1466 — *Sūrah al-Mā'idah* 5:32.

1467 — Al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, Vol. 2, p. 758.

1468 — *Sūrah al-Ḥajj* 22.40.

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